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Pro-Slavery.

AN OLD SCARECROW SET UP TO FRIGHTEN THE NORTH

From recent Editorials in The New York Herald.

NEVER before has the slavery question been presented in a form so positive, pointed and perplexing as this in reference to Kansas. In her behalf a slave State Constitution is submitted, when it is known that at least five-sixths of the people of Kansas are opposed to slavery; but if the majority, by refusing to vote in the late regularly authorized constitutional election, have permitted slavery to be carried by default, they are themselves only to blame, and with them should rest the consequences. All these late skirmishings in Kansas between Conventions, Constitutions, Legislatures and conflicting elections, are mere surplusage, and amount to nothing since the ratification of the Lecompton Constitution. Congress must, therefore, decide either to admit Kansas as a slave State, under the Lecompton Constitution, or to abide the consequences of its rejection.

We shall see, too, in this contest, whether the boasted courage or the alleged pusillanimity of the South will prevail. The case is now so perfectly clear, that if this Lecompton Constitution be rejected, it will be rejected on account of slavery, that no man can doubt it. We apprehend, therefore, that the South, ready to accept the said Constitution, without the slavery clause, will make it an ultimatum with the slavery clause. Enabling acts, therefore, like that of Mr. Douglas, and provisos like those of Mr. Senator Pugh, are now too late, or are wholly unnecessary.

It is a great mistake, also, to suppose that, as this question now stands, it is a mere issue between the Administration and Gov. Walker, or between Senator Douglas and the Southern fire-eaters, or between this faction and that faction, or this party and that party for the Presidential succession. The question has been enlarged, with the recognition of slavery in the Lecompton Constitution, into a question of Northern acquiescence in the result, or the submission of the South to the pressure of a Northern majority. And as it is manifest that the submission of the South in this case will reduce that section to a mere dependency of the North, we may safely anticipate the most determined Southern resistance against all attempts and all devices to set aside the Lecompton Constitution.

The South cannot now with safety consent to abandon the good old principle of adjusting the slavery question in the admission of new States, under which a slave State and a free State have been admitted or provided for at the same time since the adoption of the federal Constitution. On the other hand, the crisis is altogether unfavourable for any attempt to coerce the South into submission. Years ago the religious bonds which had united the North and South in holy communion in the great Protestant Churches of the Confederacy were broken asunder. Since that day the old social relations of fraternity and harmony which once existed between the two sections have been changed into sectional hates and prejudices, and organizations of a sectional character, social, religious, literary and political, including sectional churches, sectional schools, sectional books, Southern committees of inspection and Northern underground railroads, have been formed.

With this state of things subsisting between the two sections, the refusal of the North to admit Kansas as a slave State may prove to be the last parcel which breaks the camel's back. The provocation to the South will only be the more pointed and offensive from the fact that two new free States are at the same time awaiting their admission into the Union. Will the Northern members of Congress, then, insist upon the rejection of the Lecompton Constitution because of its recognition of slavery? We hope not. Or, will the Southern members consent to it? If they do, they will show to the world that all their complaints, grievances and threatenings, and all their Southern rights movements, plans and combinations of the last thirty years, have all been empty bluster, fuss and fury, gas and humbug.

Our present impression is, however, that, as the case stands, unless Kansas shall be admitted as a slave State, in the way of an equivalent to the South for the admission of the new free States of Minnesota and Oregon, the Southern members of the two Houses will adopt a very bold and startling movement in retaliation. We are persuaded that with the rejection of Kansas as a slave State they will withdraw in a body from Congress, issue a manifesto from Washington requiring the Southern State Legislatures to take the matter in hand; and that, having done this, the said Southern members of Congress will await in Washington their recall home, or their orders for a surrender, at discretion, to the will of a Northern majority. In a word, this Kansas difficulty has been reduced to a solution by the Lecompton Convention, to which the North may consent, without even losing Kansas, but from which the South cannot retreat without humiliation and disgrace. A few weeks more and we shall know the drift of the wind.

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Will the men of the Southern States submit to this? We may be mistaken, but we apprehend that they will not submit to the rejection of Kansas as a slave State; but that they will resist all attempts to set aside this Lecompton Constitution with the desperate resolution of men defending the last rampart which lies between them and a fierce and implacable enemy. We apprehend that the Southern men in Congress have the will and the courage necessary to make this Lecompton Constitution the test question between the Union as it stands and a separate Southern Confederacy; but, on the other side, we are well aware that it will be difficult to secure the Northern men that will be needed as voluntary martyrs to the great cause of sectional conciliation and peace. Look, for example, at Mr. Senator Pugh, of Ohio. He desires to support the Administration; but he desires, also, to keep on the right side of his constituents. Hence he tries the oft-repeated, but always foolish, experiment of carrying water on both shoulders. He provides, therefore, in his bill both for the adoption and the rejection of the Lecompton Constitution.

But we can tell Mr. Pugh, and all other Northern members of Congress, that they must either support or oppose the Lecompton Constitution. If they prefer the chances of a reelection to the peace of the Union, so be it; but if they are ready, like Curtius, to leap into the gulf for the safety of Rome, let them come forward. Every great cause, every great movement, every great principle, every great revolution, in behalf of kingdoms and people, has had, and must have, its list of martyrs, voluntary and involuntary. Thus, without going further back, a host of martyrs were required to make good the Missouri compromise of 1820. A respectable catalogue suffered in behalf of the great adjustment of 1850. And who can tell the number—great and small—that perished in behalf of the Kansas-Nebraska bill? Nor should we complain of this; for is not the crown of martyrdom preferable to the robes of office? Henry Clay said, "I would sooner be right than be President"; and he had his wish. The election, therefore, with our Northern members of Congress is between the crown of martyrdom and the hope of glory on the one side, and the paltry alternative of a possible reelection to Congress. Can they hesitate which to choose, when the destinies of this great country, and the hope of its millions of people, may be depending in the balance? We hope not.

If the South recede from this Lecompton Constitution, they will be entitled to no further pity from the anti-slavery fanaticism of the North, and they know it. They cannot recede; they must now maintain their ground, or be forever hereafter humiliated and disgraced. In the pointed and decisive shape which this Kansas question has assumed there is no alternative but yea or nay. It is now a question which rises above all administrations, all party considerations or party estimates for the Presidency. It is an issue between the North and the South, and the simple question involved is, whether slavery shall be any further extended, or shall be permanently restricted within its present limits. Let the North enforce the admission of Kansas as a free State, in addition to the two other new free States of Minnesota and Oregon, and there will be a Northern balance of power secured in Congress sufficient to prevent the admission of any new State as a slave State, come from what quarter she may.

We have passed through many convulsions and revulsions, political and financial, during the last half century; but the sharp and salient point to which this Kansas squabble has been reduced threatens the most perilous of all our sectional agitations. The only ground of a comprehensive treaty of peace is the admission of Kansas as a slave State, as a concession to the South, in view of the two new free States of Minnesota and Oregon. From the peculiar circumstances of the case, it will be unmanly to [illegible] being the North to the mark; but from the momentous consequences to the South, which are dependent upon this settlement, the men of the South must stand their ground. The independent and conservative press of the country has pointed out the way to a satisfactory compromise, and we hope that among the wise men of the present Congress the hints thus thrown out will be turned to some practical account. True, we have as yet discovered no symptoms of practical statesmanship in this Congress; but we still have a hope that here and there, in the nick of time, a man will be found equal to the demands of the crisis.

From The Charleston Mercury.

It is rumoured that the Southern Union-savers and aspirants are busy in Washington, and that Kansas difficulties are to be safely got over by accepting the Lecompton Constitution, when presented to Congress, with a proviso that it shall be sent back and submitted to the people for ratification. In this way it is thought to put off the pro-slavery men; nullify their victory, put their rights again in peril, give effect to all the illegitimate efforts made to oust them from Kansas, and, in fact, subject them to ultimate discomfiture and defeat. Under whatever plausible guise, and with whatever pretentious conservatism, this is the practical object aimed at in the so-called compromise. For, if the South should triumph, and slavery remain in Kansas, fanaticism and sectional feeling will soon be the ruling element throughout the North. The Democratic party will be overwhelmed—politicians will lose their chances. The North, being in power, will outrage the South, and the Union will come into danger. Hence the anxiety of many to give Kansas to free soil in any specious mode that will not fire the South too much. The North will then be satisfied and have no immediate subject for agitation—National Democracy will again succeed—the Union will again be saved—albeit the South is sacrificed, and growing beautifully less in the power of the government.

In our judgment, compromises—these sacrifices of the South for the sake of a time-serving and short-sighted expediency—are undermining and sapping the foundation of the Union. The North is driving the South to the wall, and the sooner we take, as our position, the uncompromising defence of our rights, the better for the Union, the better for the South. Union-savers, by compromises, are the worst enemies of the Union; the only truly and practical Union men in the South are those who stand firmly, and fearless of consequences, to the rights of their section.

We trust that the earnest State rights Democrats of the South in Congress, exclusive of aspirants and timid Unionists of the national party, will come to some definite understanding that they will not suffer the latter to sacrifice the rights of the South in Kansas. By firmness, they can compel them to stand up to the rack, and, *nolens volens*, do their duty to their constituents. Every motive of policy and of patriotism urges them to pursue this course.

From The Mobile Register.

From a despatch which we copy from the New Orleans papers received yesterday, our readers will learn that the vote on the submission of the Constitution in Kansas has resulted in the adoption of the Constitution with slavery. This result suggests such a variety and multitude of emotions and reflections that we hardly know how to receive or treat it. Gratification at the apparent triumph of Southern interests which it would indicate is marred by grave apprehensions that it will develope consequences that are to convulse this Union in a manner that has never been witnessed heretofore. Whatever may be our fears, however, upon this point, our gratification at the result is greater, as the issue is now presented in a form upon which there can be no equivocation or doubt as to the position of parties with respect to the question of slavery and the rights of the South. The great test and touchstone which will put an end to all doubts and suspicions as to the sincerity of the Northern Democracy in supporting the Cincinnati platform is now furnished us. The course which the South shall pursue is made clear and plain by this result. If in this crisis she finds her Northern allies untrue—if they turn against her and combine with her Black Republican enemy in rejecting the Kansas Constitution as it is now presented—thus convinced that she has no longer any reliance for her rights in the Union, the South will have but one alternative left her, and, dreadful as it may be to contemplate, we hope she will not hesitate to adopt it. *We are for making the admission of Kansas, with the Constitution adopted as it is, the ultimatum for the continuance of the Southern States in the Union.* This was our position before, and without reference to the result of the slavery submission; but we are strengthened in it now by a result which will render more obvious the sentiment and motives that shall have brought about this should the admission be refused by Congress.

But let us look hopefully forward, and not anticipate evils before they occur. We have great faith in our Northern Democratic allies, and we will not permit misgivings as to their course in this emergency to enter our minds. We will not believe that they will falsify all their solemn professions, and confess themselves the rankest of impostors and deceivers, until the fact is proved beyond all doubt, as it will be, by their opposing the admission of Kansas with the present Constitution.

A GREAT CONTEST APPROACHING.

From The London Times, Dec. 19

IT requires no great foresight to perceive that a great contest is approaching on the subject of slavery and the slave trade. The battle of the negro will have to be fought by the philanthropists with a great diminution of prestige, the result of falsified predictions and blasted hopes. The Broughams and Wilberforces of the present day will have to adopt a somewhat humbled tone. The manifestoes of Exeter Hall must for once be defensive and apologetic, for the world is now wiser than when pulpit and platform resounded with indignant appeals to humanity five-and-twenty years ago. The touching descriptions of philanthropic novel-writers will go for little now, as far as regards our own colonies. Those who are old enough may recollect the traditional portraits of West India proprietors, their wives and children, which are to be found in the "moral tales" of the last generation. The owner of a Jamaica property was always lying on a sofa, drinking sangaree and swearing at Sambo, a fine mulatto youth, whose quivering lip and flashing eye told how much he felt. The lady of the house, always represented as a faded beauty, with her brow wreathed with pearls, was, of course, being fanned by two female slaves, whose delicate forms bore recent traces of the lash. The youthful heir wandered about the house exercising a whip given him by his mother expressly to beat the little negroes with. A faithful and pious Pompey, exposed to every kind of ill usage, because Dinah, who loved him—oh, how fervently!—would not listen to the unmanly proposals of Drive, the overseer, completed the picture. By such representations as these a body of as hard-working and loyal subjects as England ever possessed were held up to obloquy, and negro emancipation was effected without regard to the interests of men who were popularly supposed to be revelling in ill-gotten gains. *But politicians and the public, and even the friends of the slaves themselves, have now begun to see matters in a clearer light.* Our own colonies are impoverished, but the sum of slavery is not diminished; it has only been transferred from us to more grasping, pitiless and unscrupulous hands. Never was the prospect of emancipation more distant than now that foreign slave-owners are establishing a monopoly of all the great staples of tropical produce. The islands which in the old times supplied so much sugar, coffee and cotton are going out of cultivation, while Cuba, the United States and Brazil are every day extending the area of their cultivation and the number of their slaves. So valuable, indeed, is the slave in Cuba that, in spite of treaties and penal laws, cruisers and blockades, thousands of Africans are yearly carried across the Atlantic to work on the sugar and tobacco plantations. The wealth of the island is such that, in spite of misgovernment, oppressive taxes, and a Spanish army of 25,000 men, its proprietors are among the richest in the world. As to the United States, it is, indeed, folly to expect any change in that quarter. Slavery on the North American continent has extended, is extending, will extend. As long as the supplies of cotton are below the demand in all the markets of the world, so long will slave labour be too valuable to be parted with. Even the Northern slave States, which, but a few years ago, were discussing the gradual abandonment of the system, are now silent about abolition, immediate or prospective. Their slaves are at present a great, perhaps their greatest, source of wealth. If they cannot cultivate their own lands, they breed negroes to supply the new plantations in the South. It may be declared that the attacks of Abolitionists and the interference of the North are the cause of this determination to uphold slavery; but no sensible man will believe that mere irritation and obstinacy could lead to such great results. The existence of slavery is an economical question, and so long as the system is profitable we cannot doubt that it will be maintained. Much the same may be said with respect to Brazil, where the institution prevails with features of cruelty unknown even in the worst of times under English rule.

Now, to these countries we have given a monopoly of products which are the chief basis of our industry or among the chief sources of our revenue. They are becoming rich, powerful, arrogant, every day less inclined to be guided by English counsels or moved by English interference. With all the readiness which self-interest induces they have learnt the arguments against limiting slavery and slave importation, from our mishaps, our acknowledgments of failure, from their own prosperity, and from our dependence upon them. They have the law of nations on their side, and may quote it in answer to any assertion of our rights to interfere in the cause of humanity. They are free nations, and Africa is a free coast. Negroes are necessary to raise the cotton, sugar, coffee and tobacco which the world wants. The white man cannot work under a tropical sun; and unless the African be used as a labourer, the fairest regions of the New World must remain a desert. In fine, negroes must be had at any cost; and no nation has a right to impose its own scrupulosity on other free communities. If England has ruined her own colonies, that is no reason why she should seek to check the progress of the whole American continent. Such is the kind of reasoning which is becoming more and more common every day; and we depend upon it that, in some form or under some pretext, the slave-owners of the other hemisphere will again attempt to obtain a supply of negroes from the coast of Africa. The recent importation into the French colonies has naturally aroused their attention, and it is no wonder that we hear it asked why a few cargoes of such "emigrants" could not be brought to New Orleans or Savannah, there to be settled according to the domestic institutions of the State. With this renewed vitality of slavery, owing to the rapidly increasing value of the slave, we have now to deal.

And it is not by preaching, or protesting, or threatening, or denouncing, that the objects of humanity can be attained. *The last generation were content to be merely destructives; they broke down the slave system in the West Indies without attempting to replace it by a better, and the consequence has been the multiplication of the former evils, and a deepening of the guilt in which we indirectly participate as consumers of the slave raised produce.* After twenty years' experience, we are now called upon to provide a remedy. On all sides we hear the same cry—the colonies are perishing for want of labour. By additional supplies alone can the principle of free labour in the tropics be vindicated, and a real blow struck at the iniquities against which we have so long declaimed. Our attention has been directed to a report of the Council on Immigration for the island of Trinidad, which shows how a British colony may decay while all around it is flourishing. If Trinidad had remained under Spanish sway, it might, in spite of tyranny and misrule, be the wealthy island which its position and fertility would naturally make it. But we learn that although the island contains 1,250,000 acres, yet the extent of all the land now under cultivation is only about 52,807 acres, and of this area the sugar plantation covers only 34,059 acres. The entire number of agricultural labourers working for wages in the cultivation of sugar and cocoa is only 14,000, of whom nearly 8,000 are immigrants from India and China, introduced at the public expense. It is found that these are by far better labourers for wages than the negro, who, it is stated, "will not be stimulated to greater industry by any increase of wages." And at the present time the planter would gladly obtain labour by an advance of wages. The high price of sugar and other tropical productions has stimulated enterprise, a greater extent of land is being brought under cultivation, and all that is wanted for the development of the colony is a supply of hands. Such are the fertility and the abundance of land that "the expense of establishing on virgin land an estate capable of producing 250 hogsheads of sugar, including the cost of machinery and buildings, would not exceed £6,000 sterling." But with the present supply of labour even the present production of the colony cannot be kept up. The colonists, therefore, beg the government to assist them in obtaining immigrants from China and India. The colony, says the report, could "without difficulty meet the expense of introducing and without risk find employment for 500 Chinese immigrants." But it is to British India that the colony chiefly looks. Under a free system the Coolies work better than Africans. The former are ambitious and work for wages; the latter go off and squat in remote districts, content to support life on a little. Now this document comes, we think, opportunely at present. There can be no doubt that slavery will once more gain the ascendant unless we carry out a plan of free labour. *Our colonies in the West are the field for such a scheme, our empire in the East may furnish the labourers, and the new hold we shall have in Asia will give facilities for doing what we wish.* Whether we should send mutinous Sepoys across the water is a matter hardly yet ripe for decision; but we think, if they are to be transported anywhere, they may as well people Trinidad as the Andamans or any Asiatic island. But it is evident that the whole question of West Indian cultivation must now be examined, and, with such colonies as Jamaica, Trinidad and Guiana, there is no reason why we should not show that the culture of the tropics by free labour is not the impossibility which the partisans of slavery represent.

SOUTHERN SYMPATHY FOR WALKER.

THE arrest of Gen. Walker, with the circumstances of violence and aggression attendant upon the act, has developed the existence of a deep and pervading sympathy for his cause throughout the Southern States.

The feeling has long been latent in the public heart, awaiting an opportunity to demonstrate its prevalence and its power in an outburst of popular enthusiasm. The match is applied, and in a moment the country feels the shock of an explosion which threatens destruction, not only to the unfortunate individual who fired the magazine, but to the Administration which refuses to step aside from the line of recoil.

It is a mistake to attribute this manifestation of public opinion in the South to an impulsive and aggressive spirit of Filibusterism. The people of the slaveholding States are rather conservative in their views of foreign policy, for, besides their habitual respect for the obligations of public law, they know very well that if the country be projected upon a career of conquest, it will ultimately exchange the character of a Federal Republic for the depotism of a consolidated Democracy. It is true they retain more enterprise of spirit and a stronger passion for the excitements of war than can be found among the white slaves, timid capitalists, and effeminate man-milliners of the North, and even that characteristic will not avail as an explanation of their sympathy with Walker's movement. The secret lies in another direction.

If slavery be not an exceptional and accidental institution—if it rest upon a foundation of reason and work in accord with the economy of the moral world—if it possess an inherent vitality and power of expansion—then must it have scope for growth and development, or else sink under its own weight and perish of suffocation. But it finds no escape in the North; the ocean denies it an Eastern outlet, and legislative prohibition bars its pathway toward the setting sun. Only in the direction of the tropics is there possibility of its extension. If allowed fair play and free outgrowth along the shores of the Mexican Gulf, it may not only escape the pressure upon it from other points of the compass, but may even repair past disasters and recover its ancient ascendancy. In its progressive development the accession of Cuba would impart an impulse to its advancing columns, and its triumph would culminate in an alliance with the great slave empire of the South American continent. When this shall be accomplished—when the dominion of slavery shall extend in unbroken strength from the Alleghany Mountains to the Equator—shall monopolize the wealth of the tropics and hold the commerce of the world in its grasp—we may dismiss every apprehension for the stability of its rule. From the summit of its power it will look down upon the intrigues of hostile Cabinets and the *brutum fulmen* of platform philanthropy with supreme contempt and unruffled complacency.

Two separate influences are at work to prevent that consummation. After an arduous struggle, the Abolitionists of the North have succeeded in arresting the westward progress of slavery. The South was cheated of California by the juggle of squatter sovereignty. The repeal of the Missouri restriction mocked us with a barren sceptre and a fruitless victory. By fraud and force Kansas is snatched from our grasp. Nor is there any hope of Cuba while Black Republicanism is ascendant in the North.

But the Abolitionists of old England are in alliance with the Abolitionists of New England. Exeter Hall is the centre of anti-slavery agitation; Downing street is the source of anti-slavery action. While the Free-Soilers of the North engage to restrict the development of Southern institutions within the dominions of the Confederacy, the British Ministry undertake to prevent their expansion abroad. The history of the slavery controversy abounds with instances of cooperation between these parties. To revert to no more distant period than the annexation of Texas: we all remember that the measure was opposed as well by the intrigues of British diplomacy as by the votes and speeches of Northern Abolitionists. A still more recent example is furnished by the attempt of England and France to commit the U. States against the acquisition of Cuba. The latest illustration is the event that now engages the thought of the country; for the dispersion of the Filibuster forces in Nicaragua, though accomplished through the instrumentality of the American Navy, was prompted by a suggestion from the Cabinet of Great Britain and effected in the interest of the Exeter Hall Abolitionists.

These, then, are the parties whom we find engaged in a struggle for supremacy in Central America and upon the shores of the Mexican Gulf. On the one side is William Walker, with the band of adventurous spirits who rally to his standard and share the glory of his heroic achievements; on the other are the British Ministry, intent to curb the rising power of the great republic and to restrict the expansion of Southern institutions. Is it expected that the people of the slaveholding States can remain indifferent spectators of the contest? Need there be surprise if they avow a sympathy for the chieftain who aspires to regenerate the effete nationalities of the Isthmus and to propagate the ideas and energies of American civilization over the American continent? Why wonder if they execrate the insolent intervention of Great Britain? Why affect astonishment at their indignation against the United States officer who violated the sanctities of international law and the rights of personal liberty in obeying the behests of English abolitionism? We need not suppose Walker to be in the interest of the South. We may admit that he is not a propagandist of slavery. But when we see him struggling to repel the aggressions of British influence in the heart of the American continent, and to clear a way for the expansion of Southern institutions in the only direction left open for their development, we cannot deny him our sympathy nor resist the impulse which prompts a prayer for the success of his enterprise.—*The (Richmond) South.*

Selections.

THE PRESIDENT AND THE FILIBUSTERS.

[On Thursday, Jan. 7th, the President of the United States communicated to the Senate the official papers relating to the arrest of Capt. Walker and his followers, together with the following Message.]

IN submitting to the Senate the papers for which they have called, I deem it proper to make a few observations. In capturing Gen. Walker and his command, after they had landed on the soil of Nicaragua, Commodore Paulding has, in my opinion, committed a grave error. It is quite evident, however, from the communications herewith transmitted, that this was done from pure and patriotic motives and in sincere conviction that he was promoting the interests and vindicating the honour of his country. In regard to Nicaragua, she has sustained no injustice by the act of Commodore Paulding. This has ensured to her benefit, and relieved her from a dread invasion. She alone would have any right to complain of the violation of her territory, and it is quite certain that she will never exercise this right. It unquestionably does not belong to her invaders to complain in her name. She has been rescued by Commodore Paulding from their assaults. The error of this gallant officer consists in exceeding his instructions and landing his sailors and marines in Nicaragua, whether with or without her consent, for the purpose of making war upon any military force whatever, which he might find in the country, no matter from whence they came. This power certainly did not belong to him; obedience to law and conformity to instructions are the best guides for all officers, civil and military, and when they transcend these limits and act upon their own personal responsibility, evil consequences almost inevitably follow. Under these circumstances, when Marshal Rynders presented himself at the State Department, on the 29th ult., with Gen. Walker in custody, the Secretary informed him that the Executive Department of the Government did not recognise Gen. Walker as a prisoner; that it had no directions to give concerning him and that if was only through the action of the Judiciary he could be lawfully held in custody to answer any charges that might be brought against him. In thus far disapproving the conduct of Commodore Paulding, no inference must be drawn that I am less determined than I have ever been to execute the neutrality laws of the United States. This is my imperative duty, and I shall continue to perform it by all the means which the Constitution and laws have placed in my power. My opinion of the value and importance of those laws corresponds entirely with that expressed by Mr. Monroe in his Message to Congress, of Dec. 7, 1809. That wise, prudent and patriotic statesman says it is of the highest importance to our national character, and indispensable to the morality of our citizens, that all violations of our neutrality should be prevented; no door should be left open for the evasion of our laws; no opportunity afforded to any one who may be disposed to take advantage of it to compromise the interest or honour of the nation; the crime of setting on foot or providing the means for military expeditions within the United States, to make war against a foreign State with which we are at peace, is one of an aggravated and dangerous character, and early engaged the attention of Congress. Whether the Executive possesses any or what power under the Constitution, independently of Congress, to prevent or punish this and similar offences against the law of nations was a subject which engaged the attention of our most eminent statesmen in the time of the Administration of Gen. Washington and on the occasion of the French Revolution—the act of Congress of 5th June, 1794, fortunately removed all the difficulties on this question which had heretofore existed. The 5th and 7th sections of this act, which relate to the present question, are the same in substance with the 6th and 8th sections of the Act of April 26th, 1818, which have now been in force for a period of more than sixty years. The military expedition rendered criminal by the Act must have its origin, must begin or be set on foot in the United States, but the great object of the law was to save foreign States with whom we were at peace from the ravages of these lawless expeditions proceeding from our shores. The 7th section alone, therefore, which simply defines crime and its punishment fully, have been inadequate to accomplish this purpose and enforce our international duties. In order to render the law effectual, it was necessary to prevent the carrying on of such expeditions to their consummation after they had succeeded in leaving our shores. This has been done effectually, and in clear and explicit language, by the authority given to the President under the eighth section of the act to employ the land and naval forces of the United States, for the purpose of preventing the carrying on of any such expedition or enterprise from the territory or jurisdiction of the United States against the territory or domain of any foreign Prince or State, or of any colony, district or people with whom the United States are at peace. For these reasons, had Commodore Paulding intercepted the steamer Fashion with Gen. Walker, and his command on board at any period before they entered the port of San Juan de Nicaragua, and conducted them back to Mobile, this would have prevented them from carrying on the expedition, and have been not only a justifiable but a praiseworthy act. This well deserves the severe punishment inflicted upon it by our laws. It violates the principles of Christianity, morality and humanity, held sacred by civilized nations, and by none more than by the people of the United States. Disguise it as we may, such a military expedition is an invitation to reckless and lawless men to enlist under the banner of any adventurer to rob, plunder and murder the unoffending citizens of neighbouring States who have never done them harm. It is usurpation of the war-making power which belongs alone to Congress. The Government itself, at least in the estimation of the world, becomes an accomplice in the commission of this crime unless it adopts all the means necessary to prevent and to punish it. It would be far better, and more in accordance with the best and manly spirit of our countrymen, for the Government itself to get up such expeditions than to allow them to proceed under the command of irresponsible adventurers. We could then, at least, exercise some control over our own agents, and prevent them from burning down cities, and committing other acts of enormity of which we have read. The avowed principle which lies at the foundation of the law of nations is the divine command that "all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so unto them." Tried by this unerring rule, we should be severely condemned if we shall not use our best exertions to arrest such expeditions against our feeble sister Republic of Nicaragua. One thing is very certain, that a people never existed who would sooner call any other nation to a stricter account than we should ourselves for tolerating lawless expeditions from their shores to make war upon any portion of our territories. By tolerating such expeditions, we shall soon lose the high character which we have enjoyed ever since the days of Washington, for a faithful performance of our international obligations and duties, and inspire distrust against us among the members of the great family of civilized nations. But if motives of duty were not sufficient to restrain us from engaging in such lawless enterprises, our evident interest ought to dictate this policy. These expeditions are the most effectual mode of retarding American progress, although to promote this is the avowed object of the leaders and contributors in such undertakings. It is beyond question the destiny of our race to spread themselves over the continent of North America, and that at no distant day, should events be permitted to take their own natural course.

The tide of emigration will now to the South, and [illegible] to go there peacefully, Central America will soon contain an American population which will confer blessings and benefits as well upon the natives as their respective Governments, and liberty under the restraint of law will preserve domestic peace, while the different transit routes across the Isthmus, in which we are so deeply interested, will have assured protection.

Nothing has retarded this happy condition of affairs so much as the unlawful expeditions which have been fitted out in the United States to make war upon Central American States. Had one-half of the number of American citizens who have miserably perished in the first disastrous expedition of Gen. Walker settled in Nicaragua as peaceful emigrants, the object which we all desire would ere this have been in a great degree accomplished. These expeditions have caused the people of the Central American States to regard us with dread and suspicion. It is our policy to remove this apprehension and convince them that we intend to do them good, and not evil. We desire, as the leading power on this Continent, to open and, if need be, to protect every transit route across the Isthmus, not only for our own benefit, but for that of the world, and thus open a free access to Central America, and through it to our Pacific possessions. This policy was commenced under favourable auspices, when the expedition under the command of General Walker escaped from our territories and proceeded to Punta Arenas. Should another expedition of a similar character again evade the vigilance of our officers and proceed to Nicaragua, this would be fatal at least for a season to the peaceful settlement of these countries and to the policy of American progress. The truth is that no Administration can successfully conduct the foreign affairs of the country, in Central America or anywhere else, if it is to be interfered with at every step by lawless military expeditions set on foot in the United States.

JAMES BUCHANAN.

Washington, January 7, 1858.

IMPERIAL DECREE

FOR THE PARTIAL ENFRANCHISEMENT OF THE SERFS OF RUSSIA.

AN Imperial rescript, dated from Tzarskoe Selo, the 20th Nov. (old style), or Dec. 2, of our calendar, has just been addressed by Alexander II. to the Military Governor of Vilno and the Governor-General of Grodno and Kovno, instituting the most important changes in the relations between the peasants and the landed proprietors of the country. It is accompanied by an explanatory letter of instructions from the Minister of the Interior, Lanskoi, and a circular addressed by him to all the civil and military governors, and the marshals of the nobility, throughout all the Governments of the Russian Empire, intimating that the same measures may be adopted in the other provinces which have now been definitely applied to the provinces above named. These documents are published by *Le Nord* of Brussels simultaneously with their official publication at St. Petersburg. They are a confirmation, in some degree, of the repeated statements made by that journal and by *The New Prussian Gazette* of Berlin, relative to the intended emancipation of the serfs in Russia, statements which we noticed at the time. The following is the text of the Imperial rescript:

"Special committees established in the Governments of Vilno, Kovno and Grodno, and composed of the marshals of the nobility and some other landed proprietors, had been charged with the examination of the system of inventories, which is in force throughout these provinces.

"The Minister of the Interior has now made me acquainted with the good intentions evinced by those committees with regard to the peasants of the three Governments.

"Fully approving of the intentions of these representatives of the nobility of the Governments of Kovno, Vilno and Grodno, as being agreeable to my views and my desires, I authorize that nobility to proceed, from and after this day, to the elaboration of the measures necessary for putting into execution the plans of the said committees, always on condition that the work is to be but progressively accomplished, so as not to disturb the economic organization at present operating in the estate of the nobility.

"For this purpose I ordain:

"1. That from and after this day an Executive Committee shall be established in each of the three Governments aforesaid; and afterward a General Commission for those three Governments, the seat of which shall be at Vilno.

"2. Each committee, presided over by the marshal of the nobility in that Government, shall be composed of the following members: One landowner from each district, chosen by, and from among, the noble possessors of inhabited lands in the district; two members chosen from among the most intelligent landowners of the Government, and nominated directly by the Governor of the Province.

"3. The General Commission shall be composed of the following persons: Two members of each of the Provincial committees, chosen by the committees themselves. One intelligent landowner in each Government nominated by the Governors from among the most enlightened of the nobility. One member delegated by the Minister of the Interior. It is reserved to you (the Governors) to choose the President of the Commission from among the noble landowners who shall be members of it.

"Immediately after their formation, the Provincial Committees will have to proceed, each separately, and in conformity with the desire expressed by the representatives of the nobility, to the drawing up of a detailed scheme with the object of securing the subsistence and ameliorating the condition of the peasants of those Provinces, taking for the basis of their plan the following conditions:

"1. The proprietor retains his right of property over all his land, but the peasants retain the inclosures belonging to their habitations, which they have the right of acquiring as freehold property by means of a redemption price, payable within a fixed term. They are to have, moreover, the use of such a quantity of land as it is necessary, according to the circumstances of the locality, to secure their subsistence, and to give them the means of satisfying their obligations toward the State and toward the proprietor. As a compensation for the use of this land, the peasants are bound to either pay a rent to the proprietor or to work for him.

"3. The private relations of peasants and proprietors between themselves should be regulated in such a manner as to secure the regular discharge of the imposts due to the state, and of the provincial imposts and services.

"The development of these principles, and their application to the local conditions of each of the three Provinces are left to the care of the Provincial Committees. The Minister of the Interior has communicated to you his views upon this subject, and the Committees may refer to them to guide them in their labours.

"When the Committees shall have finished their task, they will have to submit it to the General Commission. The Commission, after having weighed and examined the proposals of the Provincial Committees, and having combined them with the principles indicated above, will have to pass a definite judgment on the matter, and to draw up the scheme of a general settlement throughout the three Governments, with the exceptions and variations which each of them may require.

"In charging you with the superintendence and general direction of this important work in the three Provinces of Kovno, Vilno and Grodno, intrusted to your care, I authorize you to give both to the Provincial Committees and General Commission the necessary instructions to insure the regular progress and the success of the task which is confided to them. The Provincial Governors will aid you in the performance of this task. You will have to present the scheme drawn up by the Commission, together with your observations thereupon, to the Minister of the Interior, who will submit them to me for my sanction.

"In thus offering to the nobility of Kovno, Vilno and Grodno the means of realizing their good intentions conformably to the principles which I have indicated, I hope that the nobility will fully justify the confidence which I evince toward them, by calling them to take part in this important work; and that, by the aid of God and the enlightened assistance of the noble proprietors, this work will be crowned with complete success.

"You, and the Provincial Governors placed under your orders, will see that the peasants remain submissive to the proprietor, and that they put no faith in the malevolent insinuations and the erroneous rumours which may arise. Remain with good wishes toward you,

ALEXANDER."

In the Ministerial letter of instruction it is stated that the Committee of Revision (which are alluded to in the first paragraph of the Emperor's rescript), having expressed a desire for the abolition of serfdom, his Majesty has learned with especial satisfaction this noble wish on the part of the representatives of the nobility, and has therefore authorized the preparation of a scheme with that object. The abolition of serfdom, however, is not to be effected at once, but progressively; the peasants are at first to pass through a transition state, being more or less attached to the land, during a term not exceeding twelve years, after which they will definitely become free men, and be authorized to move, on certain conditions, from one district to another. But the proprietor's right to sell or transfer the peasants belonging to his land, to remove them to other districts against their will, or to convert them, under existing laws or customs, into domestic slaves or retainers, is immediately to be abolished. The peasants, under the superintendence of the proprietors, will take part in the communal assemblies and elective tribunals for the administration of justice; but the rural police will remain under the charge of the proprietors.

GOV. CHASE ON STATE SOVEREIGNTY.

[From the Message of Governor SALMON P. CHASE, to the Legislature of Ohio.]

A DISPOSITION has been manifested, within the last few years, by some of the officials of the Federal Government, exercising their functions within the limits of Ohio, to disregard the authority and to encroach upon the rights of the State, to an extent and in a manner which demands your notice.

In February, 1856, several coloured persons were seized in Hamilton County as fugitive slaves. One of these persons, Margaret Garner, in the frenzy of the moment, impelled, as it seems, by the dread of seeing her children dragged, with herself, back to slavery, attempted to slay them on the spot, and actually succeeded in killing one. For this act she and her companions were indicted by the Grand Jury for the crime of murder, and were taken into custody upon a writ regularly issued from the Court of Common Pleas.

While thus imprisoned under the legal process of a State court, for the highest crime known to our code, a writ of habeas corpus was issued by the Judge of the District Court of the United States, requiring their production before him. The writ was obeyed by the Sheriff, and contrary to all expectations, and in disregard, as I must think, of principle and authority, the prisoners were taken from his custody by order of the Judge, and, without allowing any opportunity for the interposition of the State authorities, delivered over to the Marshal of the United States, by whom they were immediately transported beyond our limits.

The alleged ground for this action and order was that the indicted parties had been seized as fugitive slaves upon a federal Commissioner's warrant before the indictment and arrest, and that the right to their custody, thus acquired, was superior to that of the Sheriff, under the process of the State. This doctrine must necessarily give practical impunity to murder whenever the murderer may be seized by a federal official as a fugitive from service before arrest for the crime under State authority. Imputing no wrong intention to the Judge, I am constrained to add that his proceeding seems to me an abuse, rather than an exercise, of judicial power.

A similar case occurred more recently in the County of Champaign. Several deputies of the federal Marshal having arrested certain citizens of this State for some alleged offence against the Fugitive Slave act, a writ of habeas corpus was issued by the Probate Judge of that county, requiring the arrested parties to be brought before him for inquiry into the grounds of detention. The Sheriff of Clark County, while attempting to execute this writ, was assaulted by these petty officials and seriously injured, while his deputy was fired upon, though happily without effect. A warrant was issued by a Justice of the Peace for the apprehension of the perpetrators of these offences. This warrant was duly executed

GOV. WISE ON THE LECOMPTON VILLANY.

[Extract of a letter from HENRY A. WISE, Governor of Virginia, to the New York Tammany Society, in reply to an invitation to attend the Society's celebration of the Anniversary of the Battle of New Orleans.]

WHEN we (North and South) happen to meet in the common Territories, to make new homes and neighbourhoods there, all we have to do is to respect each other's equal rights. If we are Southern slaveholders, don't let our property be invaded or taken away from us; don't allow any power to prevent us from settling upon common lands, or don't drive us away from the settlements we have made upon a domain purchased or won by common treasure and united valour. On the other hand, if you prefer that slavery shall not be incorporated in the new body politic of which you are to become members, we promise you that it shall not be imposed upon you, with our consent, either by force or by fraud. We propose to go together to the polls as equals, justly respecting each other's rights, and there determine, by legal votes, what shall be the *law* of the case? If property be established in one form or another, it shall be respected; and if forbidden in any particular form, it shall not in that form exist in that part of the community. Now, has this just, fair and equal course been observed in Kansas? I fearlessly say that it has not been observed. Force and fraud both, on both sides, have been attempted, and have to a shameful extent prevailed. And it is the great vocation of Democracy to put down both fraud and force in this and in all other cases. How? The case divides itself into two categories—the one *de jure* in the Territory, as between the Convention and the people; and the other *de facto* in the country at large, as between Congress and the Territory. In the first, in Kansas there was an "Enabling Statute." If the Kansas-Nebraska Act did not enable the people to hold a Convention, or to make laws for their own self-government, it has no virtue in it at all. The Kansas-Nebraska bill organized a Territory, and the people thereof were enabled thereby to govern themselves. By their own laws they organized a Convention to frame a Constitution of State Government. That Convention was, therefore, *de jure legitimate*. It formed a Constitution, and had a right to form it. That was its function, and there its power ended, except to submit it, as a proposed organic law, to the fair and free election of the sovereign people, to be *adopted* or to be *rejected* by them. They, in their organized being of legal voters, are alone sovereign. The entire Constitution ought to have been submitted to their lawful voices at the polls. The power was not delegated to the Convention to proclaim and establish a State Convention; it had to be approved by Congress, and much more had it to be approved by the sovereign principals for whom the mere agent, the Convention, acted. It was not a mere statute law repealable at will, by a Legislature to sit yearly, and to be chosen by the precincts at annual elections. It was the great fundamental organic law under which titles and tenures and franchises were to be held; and Judges and Legislatures were to sit, and Executive authority was to wield the arms of State; and offices were to be filled; and justice was to be administered; and law was to be enacted; and confederate station was to be assumed; and it was to be irrepealable by legislation, and to be, in a word, the Supreme Constitution of a State, under which she was to be received into the most glorious Union of States which ever protected and fortified the liberties of mankind! What!—tell us that an instrument of this dignity, that Republican Government itself, was not to be submitted, in its form and plan proposed, to the only lawful sovereigns—the organized people—not a mere mass of persons, but the *bona fide* inhabitants and legal voters of the State to be governed, for their election, to adopt or reject it! *De jure*, I say it ought to have been so submitted. Pure and undefiled Republicanism, conservative Democracy, required that it should be so submitted. There is no mobocracy in that idea. It is even, just, steady, organized, free republican action; the law of popular liberty, defined by citizenship and the rule of election, and is the true example of essential sovereignty in the people. Instead of so submitting this proposed Constitution by the mere agent, the Convention, deferentially to the principals, the organized sovereign people, there was a usurpation, a withholding from them of a fair, free, full and equal election to choose or not to choose their own Constitution of self-government. It was *de parte*; it was all *pro* and *no* con; and we say that was no submission to an *election* at all. Election is a choice of alternatives, to adopt or to reject; to reject as well as adopt, to adopt as well as reject.

There was no choice in this case, and no equality of voters in the case. Three men went to the polls: A said, "I vote *for* the Constitution, with or without the clause"; but B and C said, "We vote against it, with or without the clause." A's vote was counted, B's and C's were not to be counted, and thus one was made not only to offset two, but to be sole substitute in fact for three against the majority of two to one out of three. Now this was but the veiled trickery and shameless fraud of a so-called schedule. There was neither right nor justice in it. The Democracy of Virginia at least scorns a title of any sort founded on a fraud, occult or palpable, like this. We say that as between the Convention of Lecompton and the people of Kansas, the question was one *de jure* and *de jure* the whole Constitution in all its parts ought to have been submitted to all the legal voters, *pro* and *con*, and the two voters ought to have been allowed their voices against it as well as the one voter his voice for it. And, so far as slavery is concerned, it made the case worse against that species of property to submit the slavery clause alone to the election of the people. Why discriminate in respect to that "peculiar institution"? Is it because it was peculiar? If we contend for anything especially, it is that our property shall not be distinguished or discriminated from other property in legislation. It stands on the same footing of right to protection and preservation which is claimed for any other description of thing owned or possessed by others as property. Why was this singled out for the chances of prohibition? Was it not enough that the Badger amendment of the Kansas-Nebraska bill had already enacted that all laws protecting and establishing it prior to 1819-20 should be repealed? Why repeat a discrimination against slavery in this schedule of submission? This was ground enough to make pro-slavery partisans reject it. In fact, and of right, if the Constitution had not been submitted at all, in whole or in part, to the people, it would have been more impartial and more just to the slaveholder than as it was submitted. If there be any mistaken and misguided and misguiding parties in the South, who would be guilty of arraying against the equal rights of slave-property the irresistible and indisputable rights of popular sovereignty, we would have our property from the guardianship of such folly, and rely, as property and protection must always most safely rely, rather upon law and order, and the rule of justice and fair dealing—to "ask nothing but what is right, and to submit to nothing which is wrong." On the ground of policy, then, as well as *de jure*, the whole Constitution ought to have been submitted to all the legal voters, without fear, favour, fraud or force. So much for the case *de jure*.

3d. The Convention saw fit to submit the Constitution to the one voter alone, and not to all three of the voters, and the Convention was *legitimate*. It was legitimate *de facto*. Congress could not go behind the return; it cannot intervene, we are told, except to see that law has authorized the act, and that the form is republican.

The law authorized the act, and we grant the form of the Constitution itself to be republican. We don't agree with Mr. Senator Douglas that his own Kansas-Nebraska act was not an "enabling statute," and we don't agree, either, with the President, Mr. Buchanan, that slavery was the only "domestic institution" to be submitted as such to the people. The Kansas bill enabled the people to govern themselves; that was its first essence and its chief excellence, and every municipal institution of a State Government is a "domestic institution." The President is a bachelor, and must, therefore be excused for not comprehending a "domestic institution" as well as we who have houses full of children. He had better reasons for his recommendation than he assigned. He was bound to look to the fact that this was the work of a legitimate Convention, and that the work itself was in form republican, and that these were subjects for Kansas alone to judge of. But whether Kansas had been allowed to judge—whether her people had been allowed to choose, to adopt or reject the Constitution of government proposed to them—whether they had been allowed to govern themselves, was another fact which had also to be looked to—*de facto*, whether the schedule was republican? *De facto*, whether there were not other domestic institutions besides slavery which ought to have been submitted to the sovereign legal voters?

It is the very gladness and glory of our State Governments, when organized, that they guard and govern the hearthstones and homes of the United States. The State Governments are the municipalities of sovereignty which embrace especially the individual persons, the families, the households, the altars, and the homes of our people. It is that which makes State rights, State laws, State organization, State action, so precious, because so domestic, in our Confederacy. The Federal Government embraces rather national and foreign subjects of jurisdiction, and, therefore, it ought to leave all domestic questions to the States and the people. What then? Why, then, if the schedule of submission was anti-republican, if it was partial, if it did not acknowledge and allow the sovereign right of the people to judge for themselves on the question of highest dignity, the organic law of their government, and discriminated unequally between the subjects of property, the Congress of the United States ought not to reject the legitimate and republican Constitution, but ought to adopt it, subject to a fair and legal vote of the people of Kansas, according to a law to be prescribed by their Territorial Legislature, and to admit the State under the Constitution whenever the Territory shall proclaim its approval and adoption by the people. If they adopt it, to admit her into the Union *ipso facto*; and if they reject it, to leave the people of Kansas in their own way to organize another Convention, and to submit another Constitution to Congress for approval.

This would be a plain and easy solution, and would take all the asses over the "bridge of shrieks." And for any difference of opinion as to the mere mode of submitting or solving this question, I protest that no true, honest, earnest Democrat shall be proscribed. No Northerner ought to denounce the President for recognising the fact of the legitimacy of the Lecompton Convention, and no Southerner ought to denounce Senator Douglas for contending manfully for the right of the sovereign people to adopt or reject their own form of self-government. There is no conflict, in truth, between the two principles *de jure* and *de facto*—they, combined, rule the case, and rule it rightly. It may be very desirable to have Kansas admitted as a State as early as practicable, but nothing will be gained by admitting her into the Union in a mode offensive to a majority of her voters. Wisdom should teach a minority to insist upon nothing but what is sustained by perfect fairness and justice. A majority can take care of itself and a minority should be the last to resort to either fraud or force. Nothing less than the highest tone of morality can protect a minority in its rights, or will restrain a majority from wrong.

[The letter of Gov. Wise has caused a great hubbub in Virginia. *The South* denounces it, of course, and the Richmond *Whig* lets off its indignation as follows:]

We say it is the most remarkable letter ever penned by a Southern man, and we think our readers will agree with us in opinion when they peruse it. The sentiments of Gov. Wise on the Kansas question, and especially on the Lecompton Constitution, are lauded by the New York *Times*—a rabid Abolition journal (!)—in a long leader and in the most extravagant terms. The Governor, in a word, repudiates the Lecompton Constitution as a palpable and monstrous fraud, and says it must be submitted to a direct vote of the people before Kansas can be fairly admitted into the Union! We believe, in short, that this letter of Governor Wise is calculated to do more harm to the South at the North than any thing which has yet transpired in connection with the Kansas imbroglio. Those men in Congress who have taken their stand for the Lecompton Constitution *are completely unhorsed by this letter from Governor Wise, and will henceforth be denounced by their constituents as more Southern in their views and feelings than our own Southern fire-eaters.* Strange times are these, when demagogues North and South assume any side of any question which self-interest and ambition may dictate. Governor Wise, although ready to dissolve the Union in the event of Fremont's election, is now pandering to the Abolition sentiment of the North, with a view to the Presidential nomination in 1860. May Heaven snatch the country from the deadly embrace of ambitious demagouges and reckless place-hunters. Only through a great popular revolution, which shall whelm with confusion and ruin the Democratic party—a party more Jesuitical and dangerous than any that ever existed in any age or nation—can the country expect redemption from the political demoralization now prevailing, and which is increasing and spreading with every succeeding day. For one, we say it boldly, that we prefer being ruled over by an open, frank, conscientious Black Republican to submitting to the further domination of a party whose principal leaders are the most unconscionable hypocrites that human imagination can conceive."

WASHINGTON NEWS AND GOSSIP.

Correspondence of The St. Louis Democrat.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 31, 1857.

THAT Commodore Paulding violated the laws of nations and the faith of treaties in arresting Walker on the soil of Nicaragua does not admit of question; and whether the Senate, which is a part of the treaty-making power and an authorized expositor of public law, will sanction such an act, remains to be seen. The filibusters in that body will take the ground that Paulding's act was a gross instance of the violation of a principle which our government has always professed as the basis of its foreign policy—the principle of non-intervention. The event opens very grave considerations.

Then there are pending difficulties with England and Spain in reference to this Central American region. Ousely, the English negotiator, is here, and Belly, the French negotiator, is expected daily. A special message from the President at an early day will throw light upon the intricate problem, but taking all the facts in consideration, I hazard nothing in saying it will find its solution in the sword. In the meantime the Kansas question will be postponed, and both branches of Congress will grapple simultaneously with this transcendent one, the prominent points of which will draw lightning from the clouds that overhang the National Democratic party.

A war of annexation would not only be popular with the masses, but would make a unit of the Democratic party. Nothing more advantageous to that party than the substitution of the Central American question for the Kansas question could be devised. It would give them a great chance for reorganizing their demoralized legions, and restoring their waning fortunes. It would reëstablish fraternity and firm concord between Toombs and Douglas. The South would then perceive the futility of forcing slavery on a community which would be sure to slough it off whenever they regained freedom of action. The Southern leaders would turn not unwillingly from a chimerical enterprise to a practical enterprise; and they would be followed by the Northern leaders of the National Democrats who are anxious to find a common platform for both wings of the party. I view the subject from the Southern stand-point exclusively, for the simple reason that the South is the dictator of the federal government.

Correspondence of The Philadelphia Press.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 10, 1858.

It is probable that the House committee will report this week on the case of John M. Bernhisel, delegate from Utah. The recommendation will, I think, be in favour of his retaining his seat, and upon legal grounds altogether, because neither the committee nor any member of Congress can quibble as to the offensive attitude of the Mormon elders and their followers towards the federal government.

This Bernhisel is a supple and subtle tool of Brigham Young, and no doubt regularly furnishes his master with full and complete information of the events transpiring in the States, and of the preparations making for a prompt suppression of the rebellion in Utah.

Day after day he occupies his seat, showing the pleasantest and most amiable face of all the venerable gentlemen of the House, and, looking at him as he lolls in his chair reading the lighter literature of the day, or chatting good-naturedly to those with whom he is acquainted, one finds it hard to believe that he is of those who, within our own territoral limits, raise the crest of "double-dyed treason" against morality and the laws of the land.

Even during the debate of the Utah question, when fierce invective was hurled at him, his religion and the people he represents, he maintained his quiet demeanour unruffled, and it is clear that he will continue cunningly to hold a prudent silence, unless forced by decided action of either house or its committee to come out with a definition of his position in respect to the Constitution and the United States government.

Correspondence of The Albany Argus.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 5, 1858.

I have heard of an amusing piece of impertinence and effrontery on the part of the Black Republicans. It seems that while Senator Douglas was in New York an authoritative proposition was submitted to him that he should come out in his place and denounce Gen. Walker and his cause, and the cause of filibustering generally, on condition whereof it was promised that he should have the favourable consideration and support of the Black Republicans, and be admitted into the bosom of their party, this action on his part to be taken as a pledge of his sincerity in advocating views similar to theirs on the Kansas question. The proposal of course implies that Judge Douglas was seeking admission into the Republican ranks, and a threat that he would not be admitted without this additional pledge that he was entirely hostile to all the pet schemes of ultra Southern men. You will certainly admit that the proposition was presumptuous and insolent enough to have emanated from the New York *Tribune* office, where I understand it did originate. I have not learned how it was received by Judge Douglas; but if its authors were permitted to make it without a decided demonstration on his part to kick them out of doors, I have been sadly mistaken in my estimate of the man.

Correspondence of The Evening Post.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 8, 1858.

The Senate Committee on Commerce have agreed to bring in a bill repealing the fishing bounties, for many years a large part of the support of New England fishermen. This project originated with Senator Clay, of Alabama.

New England is ignored on the Committee of Ways and Means, and Crawford, of Georgia, is appointed in place of Banks, leaving but one republican on it. Great indignation is expressed. The Committee on Invalid Pensions have agreed to report a bill granting pensions to all officers and soldiers in the last war [with Mexico?]. The Senate will consider Clifford's nomination to the Supreme Court next Thursday. Jefferson Davis and other fire-eaters are enraged at the President's defence of Commodore Paulding. A hundred thousand copies of Thayer's speech are subscribed for. His opposition to the neutrality laws puzzles the filibusters amazingly.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 11, 1858.

The Kansas debate is deferred until next Monday. Rumours, that the South are inclined to yield, are more current, and it is evident that it wishes to avoid the question at present. The opposition are too accommodating in acceding to the wishes of the South; the different factions of the Administration party have had it all to themselves thus far; it is time the country should hear from the opposition.

The Administration has never been able to remove the suspicion that it intended not to interfere with the filibuster expedition. The want of precision in the instructions to the officers on the coast, the distance to which the revenue cutter at Mobile removed just as the Fashion sailed, the inefficiency of the officers of the ports, are coincidences which form good grounds for suspicion. There were also private instructions to the commander of the Fulton to take and retain until further orders a certain position, from which he could not have interfered with Walker's landing. Everything worked beautifully at first, Walker's success pleased the South, and the rebuke of poor Chatard was intended to satisfy the North and the world. The return of Commodore Paulding with Walker converted the self-gratulation of the Administration into dismay. It was compelled to take some decided action, and the popular approval of Paulding's course encouraged a distinct approval of the result of the expedition. The mild tone adopted by the President in regard to Paulding may be explained by the fact that the Commodore is in possession of the private instructions and other evidence, obtained on the coast, of the duplicity of the government, and it fears to provoke him to a publication of it. ff.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 11, 1858.

I spoke recently of an "independent anti slavery pulpit" here, in one of my letters to you. Some one in the *Star* came to the rescue of said pulpit, and claimed that it was simply that of a Congregational Church. The terrible words "independent," "anti-slavery," were uncalled for, "gratuitous." Since that time the clergyman who occupies the pulpit, the Rev. Mr. Bassett, of Ill., has preached his anti-slavery sentiments in a way which did not leave one of his hearers ignorant of the position which the preacher means to take upon slavery.

I was led to speak of this from the fact that Mr. Bassett yesterday delivered a sermon in the new Hall of Representatives. He had a large audience, and his sermon was highly tinctured with anti-slavery opinions, though not what would be called an abolition discourse. Among his audience the clergyman had Senators Hunter of Virginia, Benjamin of Louisiana; Representatives Savage of Tennessee, Keitt of South Carolina, and the President's private secretary.

I have excellent authority for saying that Vice-President Breckenridge sides with Mr. Douglas in the Kansas dispute. It is quite natural that he should do so. They have been intimate socially and in their business relations. They are concerned together in Western land speculations; they have built a house together; and, what is of more importance, the Vice-President is a pretty candid man, and you may rely upon it he is really with Douglas, and has doubtless told that gentleman so. From his position, as presiding officer of the Senate, it is unnecessary that he should express an opinion upon any debate, but it must be mortifying to such men as Fitch and Bigler, who make haste to misrepresent their constituencies at the call of the Administration, to learn that a Southern statesman, in high position, admits that it is not right and not wise to accept the Lecompton Constitution.

To tell the truth, the doughface tribe are in a state of great anxiety just now—those of them in Congress I mean. Some of them grow thin and nervous, and talk of going home for a fit of sickness before voting commences. Others still have families at home in such a situation as to require their presence. The boldest tremble—and well they may. The Lecompton Constitution swindle may pass the Senate, perhaps by six majority, but it *cannot* go through the House. As the case stands to-day, if the entire Southern American delegation goes with Buchanan, there are enough Northern Democrats who now declare themselves firmly with Douglas, to kill the Lecompton Constitution in the House. Mr. Douglas still hopes it will never reach the House—that he can demolish the fraud in the Senate. *Nous verrons.* DOT.

Correspondence of The N. Y. Times.

WASHINGTON, Thursday, Jan. 7, 1858.

The President has evidently had a surfeit of filibusterism, and is now as much opposed to it on a small scale as he was in favour of it at Ostend on a large one. His message of to-day ought to settle that question. An old man may forsake his sins upon suitable provocation. The reform is complete—and even "petty larceny" has had to "go by the board" at the same time with the repudiation of the greater crime. The message to-day aroused an angry storm in the Senate. Toombs, Davis and Douglas were vehement in denunciation of Paulding's act, and the President's doctrine. They presented cogent arguments in support of the same view of the question as that taken in the other house by Mr. Stephens of Ga., enforcing it rather more elaborately however.

It fell to the lot of Senators Seward and Pearce to defend and sustain the President's position, and they did it with much point and skill. The latter of these gentlemen accepted the issue presented upon the other side, and made a bold argument in support of the proposition that the Government of the United States has the right, power and duty to follow filibusters, and by any necessary means to bring them back from their "maurauding expeditions" against nations with whom we are at peace.

You will notice that the President has not yet committed himself against recalling Commodore Paulding. He has vindicated his motives, it is true, which clearly shows that the Commodore will not be permitted to suffer in the end. But it is still asserted that he will call him home, and let him go before a Court of Inquiry, to answer for his "technical" violation of the law. But probably the Commodore has been written to, and favoured with a hint that will induce him to *demand* a Court of Inquiry, which would compass the necessity of the case, without the mortification which would be involved in such a Court being ordered on the motion of the Executive.

WASHINGTON, Sunday, Jan. 10.

A reliable and private despatch from Columbus, Ohio, announces that the Democratic Caucus of the Legislature have unanimously agreed to instruct the Ohio Senators in Congress to vote against the admission of Kansas into the Union with the Lecompton Constitution unratified by the people.

Another despatch announces that the Democratic State Convention at Indianapolis passed the following resolution, by yeas 378, nays 115, and subsequently made the vote unanimous:

Resolved, That we are still in favour of the great doctrine of the Kansas Nebraska act, and that, by the practical application of that doctrine, the people of a State or Territory are vested with the right of ratifying or rejecting at the ballot-box any Constitution that may be framed for their government; and therefore no Territory should be admitted into the Union as a State without a fair expression of the will of the people being first had upon the Constitution accompanying the application.

The correspondent, judging from the manifestations of the Convention, says that three-fourths of the people are with Douglas.

WASHINGTON, Sunday, Jan. 10, 1858.

The news from Ohio and Indiana, which I telegraphed you to-night, is not comforting to the Administration. Senator Pugh's introduction of a new bill for the settlement of the Kansas question, upon a basis different from and opposed to that of Mr. Douglas, had excited decided hopes that he would eventually stand with the Administration in favour of pressing the Lecompton Constitution through Congress. These are now blasted, for Mr. Pugh believes in the "right of instruction," and the Democratic caucus of the Ohio Legislature have unanimously agreed to instruct the Senators from that State to vote against the admission of Kansas with the Lecompton Constitution, or any other that has not been fairly ratified at the ballot-box by the people of the Territory. Earnestly as Mr. Pugh desires to stand with the Administration, he cannot and will not disregard this expression of the wishes of his constituents.

Trouble was foreseen in Indiana some time ago, but Senator Fitch took bold ground in favour of accepting the Lecompton Constitution just as it stands, and it had been hoped that at least a powerful wing of the Democratic party of his State would fall into line and follow his lead. His colleague, Mr. Bright, knew them better. To his view the danger was so great that he concluded quietly to slip off to Indianapolis, to be present at the Democratic State Convention, and, at least, prevent the adoption of any resolutions sustaining the policy of Mr. Douglas, of whose influence he is notoriously more jealous and fearful than of any other man in public life. But the delegates to that Convention were fresh from the people, and could not be controlled. By a vote of nearly three to one they adopted the resolutions denouncing the trick by which it is sought to sustain the Lecompton Constitution, and declared their hostility to the admission of a State into the Union with any Constitution which the people had not had full and fair opportunity to ratify or reject; and then, fearing to go before the people upon their opposition to this doctrine, the minority at once wheeled around and made the vote a unanimous one. Mr. Buchanan should save a foreign mission for Mr. Bright, who has sacrificed himself as hopelessly as uselessly.

There is a good deal of manœuvreing in political circles against the double capacity in which Hon. John Appleton is now serving, that is as Editor of the *Union* and Assistant Secretary of State. His articles on the filibuster question have given great offence to many prominent members of both Houses of Congress, who are beginning to insist that he shall drop one position or the other. Certainly it does not seem to be exactly in good taste for the Assistant Secretary of State to be taunting members of Congress—through the columns of the official organ—with sustaining robbery and piracy, and with shirking the responsibility of public war, but of being covertly engaged in private and illegal attempts to obtain the results they dare not seek by the bolder and more open means. It *may* be all true—but it would sound better from some one not so prominently connected with another branch of the public service, and who assumes the direct responsibility of editorial position, instead of speeding his arrows from an official cover. It is not improbable that the expostulations of gentlemen whose wishes cannot be disregarded with impunity will soon lead to Mr. Appleton's transfer of his services entirely to the *Union*.

Senator Douglas is in fine spirits. Nothing could have served his purpose better, just now, than the springing up of the neutrality question—upon which nearly every Southern Senator finds himself *with* Mr. Douglas in hostility to the Administration. Could he have a more *cogent* argument than this to establish the fact that *he* is not outside of the Democratic party merely because he differs with the President on the Kansas question? Here is half the Democratic Senate in bitter hostility to the neutrality question and yet *in* the Democratic party! How then can Douglas be out for differing with the President on Kansas affairs? He cannot be, unless it is admitted that the first principle of Democracy is inexorable subservience to slavery, and willing obedience to its every demand, regardless of principle or consistency. *Admit* that, and who will say that a Democratic party North is worth a second's effort to save?

WASHINGTON, Monday, Jan. 11.

Gen. Walker left to-day for New Orleans. He will demand a trial there, and, if he gets it, will introduce positive testimony showing that the President, months ago, encouraged him in his Nicaraguan enterprise.

It is rumoured also that certain intercepted letters are in possession of a party in this city, establishing the complicity of the Administration formerly, and that these may be exposed in Congress before the current debate closes.

The discussion of the nomination of Mr. Clifford will be renewed by the Senate in Executive Session to-morrow. Several Southern Senators express the earnest hope that the President will withdraw his name, and save them the necessity of voting against him. Several letters from leading New Hampshire lawyers, declaring his utter unfitness for the place, are here and will be read to-morrow in Executive Session.

It is said that an effort will be made to prevent the report of a bill for the admission of Minnesota into the Union, with the Constitution received to-day, until the Kansas question shall have been settled. Senator Douglas will struggle for immediate action on the former.

WASHINGTON, Monday, Jan. 11, 1858.

Gen. Walker left for the South this morning. It is his purpose to ask a trial at New Orleans upon the charge of violating the Neutrality laws, and I understand he is very desirous of having it, in order that he may bring before the public incontestible evidence that he did not speak falsely when he told Captain Chatard that his Nicaraguan enterprise had the sanction and cordial approbation of the President of the United States. His friends assert that he will prove, among other things, at the trial, that Mr. Buchanan *unequivocally acknowledged his claim to be President of Nicaragua*, declaring that he was as much President of that Republic, when Commander Davis interfered to bring him away, as he (Mr. Buchanan) was President of the United States. They say further, that certain members of the Cabinet will be called upon to testify to other facts, showing that Gen. Walker was entitled to believe that the Administration did not consider his contemplated return to Nicaragua illegal, but, on the contrary, sympathized entirely with it and its object. I give the statements upon the subject; but of course am not personally acquainted with the facts.

The friends of the Lecompton Constitution are asserting with much positiveness that the Senate Committee on Territories, to which the Minnesota State Constitution was referred to-day, will not report it back until after the Kansas question is disposed of—the purpose being to hold its ultimate defeat *in terrorem* over the heads of those who vote against the admission of Kansas with the Lecompton instrument. This scheme, however, can only be carried through by the connivance of a Northern Democratic member of the Committee, and I doubt whether he can be induced to outrage the sentiment of his section, by lending himself to the accomplishment of so shabby a trick.

There are other indications than his recent letter to the Tammany 8th of January festival that Gov. Wise, of Virginia, is sheering off from the Administration. I learn that he is even more disposed to sustain Mr. Douglas's position on the Kansas question than that letter suggests. He is also in decided hostility to Mr. Buchanan on the Nicaraguan question; and gentlemen who know him well and have recently conversed with him are of opinion that he will soon be found in open opposition to the Administration on "general principles."

Correspondence of The N. Y. Tribune.

WASHINGTON, Thursday, Jan. 7, 1858.

Corroborative proof of the President having sustained Gov. Walker's Kansas policy is furnished by a private letter which Mr. Buchanan addressed to him when the Governor was encamped before Lawrence, in which his (Walker's) previous course was unconditionally approved. The letter has been seen by several persons, and the knowledge of its existence prevented Walker's summary removal, as at first designed, and the matter is so understood by the Cabinet. This letter also expressly and emphatically contemplated the submission of the Kansas Constitution to the people. Its language admits of no possible misconstruction.

Mr. Badger, of North Carolina, who voted for the Nebraska bill, openly denounces the Lecompton Constitution as a flagrant swindle, and sustains Mr. Douglas for vindicating the principle that he and the Southern Senators asserted in '54.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 9, 1858.

The best thing by far in the debate on the Nicaragua Message on Thursday night was a passage between Douglas and Seward, in regard to their changed relations in supporting and opposing the Administration on the arrest of Walker. To appreciate the point fully, it is necessary to cite a phrase from the Message. After denouncing the unlawful expeditions and the penalty to which they were exposed by the act of 1818, the President proceeds to say: "The avowed principle which lies at the foundation of the law of nations is contained in the Divine command that 'All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them.'"

Douglas seized the occasion to scarify those who proposed to excommunicate him from the party for differing with the President on Kansas, and to hold them up as now involved in precisely a similar category. In doing this he referred to Seward as the leader of the new recruits to the Administration, which were to supply the Democratic desertions. Seward interrupted him by saying that he had a special inducement, which was peculiarly gratifying, for being found on the side of the Administration. The Message announced that Walker's expedition was in violation of law, and therefore to be condemned. "So far," said Seward, "I agree with the President; but he goes further, and pronounces it in violation of 'the higher law,' and I am sure I should be recreant to my sense of 'the higher law' itself if I did not come to his support on such an occasion."

Douglas followed up the point with telling pungency, answering, "I perceive the *consistency* of the Senator from New York, in the ground on which he bases his support of the Message." Both sides took the episode in good part, and as it completely cornered the gentry who have been so much exercised by "the higher law," by putting Mr. Buchanan among the foremost of Mr. Seward's followers in this doctrine, the presumption is not far-fetched that we shall hear no more of that "abomination," since it is now accepted and honoured at Court. The President is now confessedly the highest of the higher law fraternity.

Although it has been given out, confidently and often, that the Democrats of the New York delegation were solid and safe for the Lecompton Constitution, some of those patriotic gentlemen have had compunctious visitings which render that assumption rather questionable. They begin to hesitate, to inquire, to compare opinions, to doubt and to think better of former inclinations. In fact, more than one of the number has reached the conclusion that a conference ought to be held, and some understanding adopted by which they might act in concert. These signs have a positive meaning, which will be more emphasized when the vote against Lecompton is sent here as a strengthening plaster to their weakened spinal column. There are others, too, in no better plight, who, though not seeing the handwriting upon the wall, begin to tremble at the prospect. Still the Administration is positive in the assertion that it has force enough and to spare for carrying the contrivance through the House, though New York is lumped affirmatively in the estimate. A week more may open their eyes to the extent of a delusion which now, for good reasons, cannot be explained in detail, but which will ere long sufficiently explain itself, to the surprise of some people.

The new member from Massachusetts, Mr. Eli Thayer, made a great hit in his debut, and brought the House down, as it has rarely been brought before. When he announced himself for a modification of the Neutrality law, the South stared; but when he went further, and gave as a reason the necessity for a new outlet to Yankee enterprise and civilization, by which free States would be added to the tropics, the filibusters stood aghast and were positively shocked. The scene was rich and refreshing from first to last, and the speaker, seizing his advantage, played upon the fears and curiosity of his astonished and reluctant allies, until the galleries roared, and the House could not restrain a sort of national horse laugh—which happened to be on the wrong side of many mouths. This speech has, by common consent, established Mr. Thayer's fame, where toil and trial are nearly always the steppingstones to the slow attainment of such distinction. Let him not be spoiled by success, as too many before him, who expended more effort, have been to their own irreparable injury.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 11, 1858.

The Lecompton Constitution is as dead as a door nail, without even being brought here. Its contrivers may go through that farce, but it will hardly pay expenses. If any doubt existed on this subject before, it has been removed by the proceedings of the Indiana Convention and the caucus of the Ohio Legislature. Those two results have only confirmed a previous tendency, and afforded a chance to bolt, which will be gladly accepted. Every day the strength of the Administration is declining on this test, and in a few weeks the fire-eaters will be left alone in their glory. Even now the conservative portion of the South is beginning to retreat, and Clay, Jewett and Stevenson of Kentucky will denounce the Lecompton instrument as a Constitution not fit to be made, at the first opportunity. Indiana has already surrendered almost solidly, notwithstanding the flatulent demonstration of the green member from Bloomington—Hughes by name—who undertook to lecture his brother Democrat from the Columbus District for dissenting from the President's Message, and whose country zeal led him to propose a resolution of commendation, which was strangled at the instance of the old managers. Pennsylvania, too, is sharing the general epidemic of defection, and hardly a corporal's guard will be left north of the line, by the time the returns of the Kansas elections are received. Yet, with all the impressive indications of reaction, the belief really existed in court circles, so late as Friday night, that Douglas was utterly extinguished, and that Lecompton was a fixed fact. They have recovered from the delusion by this time.

THE PRESIDENT AND COMMODORE PAULDING.

From The Evening Post, Jan. 11.

WERE a gentleman, in the course of his morning's walk, to come upon a rattlesnake, and pursue it into his neighbours's door-yard to kill it, we understand Mr. Buchanan to say substantially, in his message of the 7th inst., that such pursuer would, in his opinion, "have committed a grave error." Or if the same gentleman observed his neighbour struggling with a gang of burglars who were trying to plunder his house, and were to go upon his premises and help to rescue him from the rascals, we understand Mr. Buchanan to say in substance that the kind-hearted intruder would in that case also have "committed a grave error." It is very wrong, says the President, to fit out marauding expeditions against our peaceful neighbours; it is a usurpation of the war-making power, which belongs only to Congress and the Government it-elf, at least in the estimation of the world. Walker did fit out such an expedition which, "disguise it as we may," adds the President, is an invitation to reckless and lawless men to rob, plunder and murder the unoffending citizens of neighbouring States. As the leader of such an expedition, he did perpetrate acts which violate principles of Christianity, morality and humanity, held sacred by all civilized nations. But he was not robbing and murdering Americans on American soil; he escaped the vigilance of our sleepy judicial and naval officers, and made the territory of a peaceful neighbour the theatre of his crimes; therefore Commodore Paulding ought not to have interfered to rescue the victims. We do not believe that the President is at heart anything like so undesirable a neighbour as he represents himself to be, though he himself is alone to blame if a contrary impression prevails. That the first passage in his message should be a sharp rebuke of an officer, who had done what no man with a spark of humanity or respect for the rights of nations could have hesitated to do, is a fact which will be likely to receive a harsh interpretation not only from strangers, but from disinterested friends. His scruples about Commodore Paulding's conduct certainly will strike the common intelligence of the country as a little affected. It was, to use a cant expression of the day, "putting a little too fine a point" upon it. International law is the fullest expression of the rights and duties of nations to each other; and if there is one duty more clear and indisputable than another, it is to prevent piracy and highway robbery, whether on land or water. Land rats and water rats are alike the common enemies of man, and may be hunted and destroyed wherever they are found, with a certainty of violating no man's rights and of hurting no man's feelings. Walker was both a water rat and a land rat. He was preying upon the persons and property of our peaceful neighbours. Not to have hunted him would have been unmanly, inhuman and absurd in Commodore Paulding, independently of any instructions from his Government, and independently of the official character with which he was clothed. It is sad to see the highest officer of the Government so ready to avail himself of an excuse so merely technical for censuring an act prompted by the most obvious impulse of duty and humanity.

One of the Democratic organs of this State charges us with having poisoned or attempted to poison the Democratic party of the State. We reply as the husband did when his wife charged him in the doctor's presence with having poisoned her: "I haven't done it, doctor. Let the question be settled at once: open her on the spot—I have no objection."—*Louisville Journal.*

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JANUARY 16, 1858.

SPECIAL NOTICE!

ALL subscribers to THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, in the EASTERN and MIDDLE STATES, who are in arrears for more than a year, will receive a bill with their paper of this week, to which we call their particular attention. A similar bill will be sent once more before the FIRST of FEBRUARY next to those who neglect this first summons to pay a just debt, which has been very frequently asked for within the past few months. And the names of those who are still delinquent on the first of February will be crossed from our books.

Subscribers in the WESTERN STATES, who are in arrears, received a similar remiader with their last week's paper; which will also be once repeated, if necessary, before the FIRST of FEBRUARY, when the paper will be stopped if the bills are still unpaid.

MISTAKES OF AN ENGLISH ABOLITIONIST IN REGARD TO AMERICAN ABOLITIONISTS.

THE complaint of a man that he is "not understood" commonly meets with very little sympathy—perhaps because the complaint itself is *prima facie* evidence of a serious deficiency in him who makes it, either of any special individuality to *be* understood, or of the power of expressing it intelligibly by speech or action. This is the general rule. We invite the reader to look with us a few moments at one of the exceptions.

If there be in this country a set of men who, for the last quarter of a century, have had a distinct idea to express, and who have given to it intelligible expression, by speech and writing, in the plainest English, through that whole period, it is the Abolitionists. Yet very gross and often most calumnious misrepresentations are made respecting their characters, purposes, principles, plans, and modes of operation. No doubt they are calumniated oftener than misunderstood; but there is also very commonly a real failure on the part of the community to understand what is purposed, and said, and done by the Abolitionists; and some who have a certain amount of real spiritual affinity with them continue to be alienated and repelled by these misapprehensions.

The causes of the misunderstanding referred to are various. Very prominent among them is the prevalence in our country of that mean, materialistic, money-getting spirit, which measures all things by the standard of pecuniary success; in whose estimation gain is the one thing needful; and which, from sheer inability to comprehend disinterestedness, philanthropy, or a life guided by principle, suspect trickery and underhanded dealing in any enterprise which does not *pay* in some obvious advantage to the mover. Persons of this sort fail to understand Abolitionists from a radical difference of character, as a fish *must* fail to understand a bird.

Another cause, somewhat extensive in its operation, and acting upon a class of men and women of *moderate* character and quiet manners, who have a constitutional dislike of enthusiasm, though they are no further involved in hunkerism than its first stages, is what is called the "harsh language" of the Abolitionists. Since those who would cure the horrible malady of slavery must needs first look intently at it and see what it is—since such an investigation must of course arouse strong feelings of sympathy with the oppressed and disapproval of the oppressor—since the experience of these observers corroborates their original idea that it is expedient as well as right to say just what they mean, calling tyranny, cowardice, treachery and hypocrisy by those very names—and since they need, now as at first, to be moved by a burning zeal, having mountains of ice around them to melt—their epithets

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE MASSACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

THE Annual Meeting of the MASSACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY will be held in Boston, on THURSDAY and FRIDAY, Jan. 28th and 29th, commencing at 10 o'clock, a. m. A strong array of speakers, as usual, may be expected on the occasion.

In view of the absolute control of the National Government, in all its departments, by the Slave Power—of the fillibustering designs of the South, through the agency of the piratical Walker, for the purpose of a vast extension of the accursed slave system into new territories—the continued subjugation and fearful situation of Kansas—the brutal and monstrous decision of the U. S. Supreme Court in the Dred Scott case, whereby the entire coloured population of Massachusetts are denied to have any rights as citizens of the United States—the official declaration of Mr. Buchanan, that slaveholders are as much entitled to hold slaves in any of the Territories as any other property—and the revolting and startling doctrines avowed by the South, in regard to free institutions—the friends of freedom are summoned to rally, at this annual gathering, in numbers, and with a spirit and zeal, commensurate with the importance and solemnity of the crisis.

FRANCIS JACKSON, President.

R. F. WALLCUT, Secretary.

CALL FOR AN ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION IN VERMONT.

WHEREAS the question of American slavery is deservedly the great question before the people, in both Church and State;

Whereas there is need of more and continued agitation on this subject, and for greater effort in the anti-slavery cause;

Whereas there are many in our State who desire to occupy a higher moral platform than that occupied by the political parties;

And whereas it is desirable that the friends of Freedom be better acquainted and coöperate more heartily;

The undersigned hereby respectfully invite their fellow-citizens to meet in Convention at BRADFORD, Vt., on TUESDAY and WEDNESDAY the 26th and 27th of Jan., 1858, to consult, discuss and determine with reference to to the evil of SLAVERY, and to adopt such measures and take such action as the importance of the subject and the state of the times demand.

RYLAND FLETCHER,	HENRY MILES,
MOSES KIDDER,	PARKER MCNIECE,
B. W. DYER,	L. PRINDLE,
N. R. JOHNSTON,	JOHN GILLIES,
F. S. BLISS,	J. M. COBURN,
ASA LOW,	WILLARD B. PORTER,
WILLIAM MORRISON,	SAMUEL STRONG,
E. HEBARD,	GUY C. SAMPSON,
N. HAZELTINE,	DANIEL KEENAN,
LEONARD JOHNSON,	JOSIAH DIVOLL,
J. C. WINSHIP,	JAMES F. GEORGE,

JAMES STAYTON.

[NOTE.—Several hundred names are signed to this call. We need not give space to more, since THE STANDARD has a limited circulation in Vermont.—EDS.]

The Convention will be organized on TUESDAY *at* 3 1-2 *o'clock*, or immediately after the arrival of the Southern train, at which time all the members are earnestly requested to be present. Addresses by invited, distinguished speakers, whose names will be duly announced, will be delivered on the evenings of Tuesday and Wednesday, and probably during the sessions of Wednesday.

THE KANSAS QUESTION.

THE design of the Administration to force the admission of Kansas into the Union under a Constitution establishing slavery, and in defiance of the will of more than three-fourths of the people of that beleaguered Territory, seems likely now to be defeated for lack of unanimity on the part of the slaveholders, many of whom have the sagacity to perceive that the adoption of a measure so outrageous, and which can secure them no permanent advantage, would deprive them in the future of all effective support at the North. The plot for forcing the Lecompton swindle through Congress by Executive influence, aided by the threats of the fire-eaters to withdraw from the Union in case the measure should be rejected, was laid with skill, and, up to a very recent date, the conspirators were confident of success; but the events of the last few days have filled them with fear and dismay. The *New York Herald*, which is now understood to reflect the views of the Administration, has been endeavouring, for some time past, to excite the fears of the North by predictions of terrible things to be done by the South if Congress should refuse to admit Kansas as a slave State under the Lecompton Constitution. It has warned us, in so many words (see first page—Pro-Slavery Department), that the Southern Representatives, in that contingency, would "withdraw in a body from Congress, issue a manifesto from Washington requiring the Southern State Legislatures to take the matter in hand," and then "await in Washington their recall home, or their orders for a surrender, at discretion, to the will of a Northern majority." This, in the significant words of John Quincy Adams, would be "terrible, very terrible!" no doubt; at least there *was* a time when the people of the North would have thought so and made haste to avert such a calamity by obeying the will of their masters, the slaveholders. The plot was as good a plot, doubtless, as ever was laid; but at the very moment when the fire-eaters were confident of their ability, through such appeals to Northern cupidity, to "crush out" the rebellion inaugurated by the "Little Giant" of Illinois and control the votes of the great body of Northern Democratic representatives, they were startled by a bomb-shell thrown into the very centre of their camp by one of the most distinguished leaders of the Southern Democracy. Henry A. Wise, the Governor of Virginia, has stepped forth, at an opportune moment, to rescue the Democratic party and the slaveholding cause from the destruction to which, through the weakness and folly of the President and his doughface allies in yielding to the empty bluster of the fire-eaters, they were being rapidly hurried. In a letter to the Tammany Society of this city, written in reply to an invitation to attend the celebration of the anniversary of the battle of New Orleans, Mr. Wise comes out in open hostility to the Lecompton swindle. The salient portions of this letter will be found in another column. Gov. Wise sees clearly enough that the interests of slavery, instead of being promoted by the consummation of the President's scheme, would be seriously imperilled; and he comes to the rescue with a boldness which may well put Mr. Buchanan and his Northern supporters to shame for their weakness and subserviency. Senator Bigler, we hope, has sense enough to see that, in assailing Douglas, he quite gratuitously made a fool of himself and earned only the contempt of the very men whose favour he was most anxious to win. Having gone down into the gutter and covered himself all over with its filth, he may now console himself as best he may with the reflection that his masters repudiate and despise his supererogatory and degrading service. The lesson, if lost upon him, may possibly have a good effect upon some other weak-backed representatives of the North.

Gov. Wise's plan for settling the Kansas question differs from that of Mr. Douglas in that, instead of requiring the passage of an "enabling act" by Congress, it leaves the people of Kansas to proceed, in their own time and way, to organize themselves into a State. As this plan requires no action on the part of Congress, we think it the one most likely to be adopted. However the fears of of the Northern Democratic representatives might have deterred them from following the lead of Douglas, they cannot hesitate to tread in the footsteps of so eminent a representative of the Slave Power as Mr. Wise. They will do this the more readily in view of the position taken by the Democracy of Indiana and Ohio, as recorded in another column. Indeed we shall not be surprised if Mr. Buchanan himself shall, within a fortnight, change front upon this question and recommend the very policy proposed by Gov. Wise. The fire-eating wing of the Southern Democracy will, of course, affect to be very indignant, as that is a part of the play which it would not be safe to omit; but they will be very easily conciliated by a share of the yet undistributed "spoils" and by new favours privately extended to the fillibusters.

The Free State party in Kansas was divided upon the question, whether it was expedient for them to take part in the election of State officers and members of the Legislature under the Lecompton Constitution. The majority were at first decidedly opposed to such action, but a large minority were of the opinion that they ought to vote and elect their own men, with the understanding that the officers thus elected should refuse to serve, and thus effectually nullify the Lecompton Constitution in spite of all that Congress might do to give it vitality. The election was held on the 4th inst., and the opinion is expressed in the latest telegraphic despatches that enough of the Free State men voted to elect a majority of the members of the Legislature, but not enough to elect the Governor and other State officers. The vote, on the same day, under the authority of the Territorial Legislature, upon the Lecompton Constitution, will show the determination of the people of Kansas not to submit to that fraudulent instrument. The majority against it will reach, it is supposed, 10,000. The vote in favour of that Constitution, at the previous election (in which the Free State men took no part), is reported at 7,000—having been swelled by the most atrocious frauds. Troops of men came over from Missouri and voted.

From our Boston Correspondent.

NO. CXXI.

THE ARGUMENT.—The Correspondent Meteorologizeth—His opinions on Thaw—On Cockneys—On Fuel—His memories of Anthracite—And of the days when it was not—He maketh an Epic transition to Mr. Garrison's interview with Colonel Burr—His explanation of it—His suggestion to future artists—His own recollections of Burr and his regrets—Burr's visit to Boston in 1812—Some particulars about it—The Correspondent mourneth the downfall of Gov. Gardner—His eulogy of him—Prospects of Judge Loring under Gov. Banks—Prosperity of Bazaar, &c., &c., &c.

BOSTON, Jan. 11, 1858.

I CAN say nothing to the credit of the weather to-day. It is a Great Thaw of the greatest kind, and as dull as Shakspeare tells us they were in his time. The walking is nothing less than infamous. I am rather glad I did not go on to New York, as I thought of doing, so as to be there to-day, as your streets maintain the "Metropolitan" superiority over ours in vileness that your cockneys claim for them in everything else. Though "cockney" is not precisely the word to use, inasmuch as it implies nativity in the place that *cockneyizes*, and I am not aware that anybody ever was born in New York. There may be a few accidental exceptions, but they are not in my mind at this moment. There is this to be said in favour of a thaw, to be sure, and that is, that it is warm and so far forth benefits the poor at the expense of the coal-dealer and wood-wharfinger. I don't know whether you have such a denomination of business as this last with you, since your caloric is chiefly of a carbonic genesis, but it still survives for us, and was five-and-twenty years ago the source of all the light and warmth of our firesides—in the days when firesides were, before the general principle was kept imprisoned in the cellar and only allowed to come out through grated orifices. Alas, there is scarcely a fireside to fight for, nor a hearth, so entirely has the "swart fairy of the mine" prevailed over the cheerful sprites of the forest. And even the coal is now generally hidden from the sight and condemned to do its work in solitary imprisonment. The more's the pity!

I am old enough to remember, though very young at the time, the first anthracite coal fire that was ever kindled in this city. How it was abused! And what prophecies of mischief to health and eyesight was it the occasion of! I can see, in my mind's eye, the fierce light of the red-hot masses, looking like the lumps of gold with which the Hartry Demon purchased the soul of Martin Waldeck. (I hope I have not made any mistakes of names, as I have not time to verify the quotation.) That was the first kind of coal that was used and was very different from the sorts afterwards brought into use. I remember the story ran, after a great fire in Court street, I think it was, that the only thing that was found safe and sound, in spite of the conflagration, was a winter's supply of this incombustible fuel laid in by some economical lawyer. Many stout-hearted citizens stood out against the innovation, and persisted, with true conservative stubbornness, to be cold after the fashion of their fathers. Many diseases, I remember, were attributed to the mischievous custom, then beginning to creep in, of warming houses with furnaces. I daresay there may have been some such—but by no means so many as the old reign of cold compelled. Those terrible winter mornings, and the dressing in the cold chambers, to the air of which the wood-fire could scarcely impart a particle of warmth! And the churches, too! Especially in the country, there was absolutely no means of warming them known or thought of, and people sat out the long services when the thermometer was many degrees below zero—it being actually colder than outside, where the air had at least some elasticity about it. I do not believe, for one, that the strength or health of the present generation have been damaged by the multiplication of physical comforts, and particularly as to warmth and light.

That was a curious fact which Mr. Garrison tells in the last *Liberator* of his interview with Aaron Burr in this city. It shows how deep an impression the laying the corner-stone of the Modern Anti-Slavery Movement had made on the general mind of that time, that such a man as Colonel Burr should have sought an interview with the obscure printer, whom Mr. Otis could scarcely find out, though he diligently sought for him, five years later. There seems to have been no motive for the effort to dissuade him from the career on which he had entered, excepting a good-natured wish to prevent a young man from throwing himself away in a hopeless undertaking—from dashing his brains out against the walls of the American Bastille—when there might be the making of a tolerable lawyer or minister in him. It must have been a striking scene, indeed. The old battered politician and man of the world, with no principle and no faith, on the one side, and the young, ardent, enthusiastic champion, full of faith and strong in justice, engaged in a battle for other men and at such fearful odds, on the other. It would be curious to know what Colonel Burr thought of his fanatical interlocutor. It is morally impossible that he could have comprehended the character of the youth before him, but, one would think, he must have admired his pluck and persistency. It would not be a bad subject for an artist, one of these days, after time enough has passed away to make the scene historical. The contrast of the two men, one in extreme old age and the other in the very bloom of youth, the difference in the expressions of their countenances at the moment of their greatest divergence of opinions, the utter discrepancy between the men and the careers the one was ending and the other beginning, would make a suggestive subject for a picture, and one of which I make the next generation of art a present.

I remember seeing Colonel Burr once in Broadway, and have a perfectly distinct impression on my mind of his look at that moment—a little old man, in a rather shabby great-coat and hat, with a quick, keen look out of his eyes, as he passed. I have always been sorry that I did not seek out an interview with him, as he was accessible and courteous to young men desirous of conversing with him. I think Mr. Wendell Phillips told me that he once paid him a visit and was most kindly received and entertained. Possibly, though I never thought of it before, that gentleman may have contracted the tendency to treason under which he labours, and which seems to have become chronic in his case, by contagion from this proverbial traitor of our youthful days. Colonel Burr arrived in this port from Europe, as you may learn from Mr. Parton's Whitened Sepulchre of him, or from his Journal, in two volumes, published by Matthew L. Davis in 1838. He was here *incognito* for ten days or a fortnight, mainly from the impossibility of raising the money necessary to take him to New York—though the necessity of making some arrangement with the government and with his creditors, as to his indictments and his debts, had something to do with it. He lived at the boarding-house of Mrs. Goodrich, on the spot, and perhaps in the very building, where Young's Coffee-house now stands, behind Joy's Building, where you and I have dined together, and which is memorable as being the place where Pat Riley (I think it was) arrested Shadrach, on the day of his memorable rescue. The particulars he gives of his adventures and of the people he saw are very amusing to an old Bostonian who remembers the people. It was President Kirkland who finally provided him with the means of escape, by paying him forty dollars for Boyle and Moreri for the College library.

Since my last letter we have witnessed the setting of our chief political luminary. Governor Gardner has sunk into the gulfs of fate, and is seen no more, and probably never will be again. But he has had a long day of prosperity, after all, considering the nothingness out of which he rose. Nobody had ever heard of him before, by some extraordinary jockeyship, he appeared as the Know-Nothing candidate for Governor, and, chiefly from disgust at the way in which the politics of the State had been conducted by the Whigs, was elected by the largest majority known in our history. Never did man have a better opportunity to have a distinguished and useful career, and never was opportunity so signally thrown away. The devil tempted him, as he does all weakling politicians, with airy baits of National promotion. The Know-Nothings seemed to be carrying everything before them, and it seemed not impossible that the man who had been elected Governor of Massachusetts, by 80,000 votes, might be the candidate of the party for the Vice-Presidency; and since Presidents have contracted a habit of dying before their term is up, a Vice-President may find himself unexpectedly grown out of the knowledge of his nearest friends. These things did not turn out so, to be sure, but then they might. And so Judge Loring was saved, the Personal Liberty Bill vetoed, and the course of the ship laid, as far as the man at the helm could do it, towards the *South* Star—if there be one, which there certainly must be, and a lucky one, too. Know-Nothingism kept him over a second election and the third he tided over by bullying the Republicans out of making a nomination. Mr. Banks, however, who had "headed" him in the Know-Nothing lodges, was his evil genius this year and consigned him to private life and the parlour of a new Banking-house he has set up in State street. You will be shocked to learn that the malevolence which has so long pursued the patriotic Loring is not yet tired of its chase, and that petitions for his removal were among the first offered after the opening of the Legislature. It is thought that a passage in Governor Banks's Inaugural Address looks towards the removal of this exemplary magistrate by a side-wind, by abolishing all the Courts of Probate and Insolvency and making them over again in one. But of this hereafter.

I was entirely within bounds when I fixed the proceeds of the Bazaar at $3,000. They reach $3,500, I believe, and may attain a little higher figure yet, by some later operations, since the doors closed. This is certainly a great success, considering the preternatural badness of the times.

D. Y.

From our Dublin Correspondent.

DUBLIN, 23d of Dec., 1857.

MESSRS. EDITORS: Here we are close upon Christmas, and such a Christmas! If the old adage be correct, that "a green Christmas makes a fat churchyard," we should have a plague abroad just now. I have not met nor heard of any oldest inhabitant who boasts that in the golden days of his childhod, when George the Third was a young fellow, he experienced such a season as we have had for the last six months—such a remarkable uniformity of temperate weather, with so little rain or extremes of heat or cold. To be sure, we never experience the extremities of temperature which fall to your lot—but this is in a degree made up to us by a superabundance of damp. From this, however, we have been also free. In 1846, one William Lloyd Garrison was over here, and somehow or other I was thrown into his company on several occasions. He was greatly diverted by our weather at midsummer, it rained so steadily; and I heard him say that for six weeks he had rain every day but one, when he happened to be in Ireland, which piqued him not a little—just as, when you have made up your mind that somebody is altogether wicked, you feel as if he had impeached your judgment if he should chance to commit a virtuous action.

I have just been reading a leader in *The Times* of the 19th, in which we are informed that a great contest between free and slave labour is approaching, and that the substantial advantages of the latter are at length so apparent that the Broughams and Wilberforces of the day are labouring under a diminished prestige, and must abate some of the loftiness of their pretensions. The representations by the English Abolitionists of former days of the free and slave life of the West Indies are ridiculed, and it is asserted that since we have so far given way to their statements as to resign, in abolishing slavery, the cultivation of those tropical products which are the chief basis of our own industry, or among the chief sources of our revenue, the United States, Cuba and Brazil have obtained a monopoly of them. It is a folly to look to the United States to abandon a system which she finds so profitable. It is nonsense to think the Northern slave States, which now flourish by breeding slaves, have relinquished any notion of abolition they ever entertained in consequence of the reproaches of the Abolitionists or for any other reason than the very sufficient one that they find it profitable. Slavery is a question of political economy; and so long as it is found productive, all arguments, of whatever kind, will prove powerless against it. Some of the wealthiest men in the world are among the Cuban planters. Nowhere is slavery more cruel than in Brazil, yet it flourishes there. All these countries, in consequence of slavery, "are becoming rich, powerful, arrogant, every day less inclined to be guided by English counsels or moved by English interference." They are free nations. Africa is a free coast. Then he shows how Trinidad has been ruined by abolition—how difficult it is to obtain labour—and how necessary it is, in order to show that free labour is not the impossibility which the partisans of slavery represent, that we should obtain for our West Indian islands a supply of free immigrants from China or India. In plain English, *The Times* is affording its powerful countenance to the schemes for a restoration of a disguised slave trade, of which the perjured French tyrant has already set the example.

No remark is more common in England than that *The Times* is an unprincipled paper—but that we must have *The Times*. It is a hateful necessity; and the number is so vast of those who depend for all their intellectual pabulum upon such reading that it is no wonder there should at length be a very general outcry respecting the alarming increase of an insensibility to all moral and social obligations. A paper of such talent and so little principle cannot fail to exert a terribly demoralizing influence. The secrecy with which it is conducted, the vastness of its resources, the brilliancy of its articles, and the greatness of its admitted influence, impose on the imaginations of millions; and as it is continually blowing hot and cold, and you can never discover what its guiding mind really thinks on any subject whatever, it is easy to imagine how great the amount of obfuscation which is likely to be produced. The state of the national mind in England at this present writing indicates extraordinary bewilderment. As far as we can gather from the newspapers, it is the general persuasion that the Indian mutinies were acts of causeless, unnatural, ungrateful revolt. The words *rebel* and *traitor* are applied to the Hindoos—much as if they were rebellious natives of Middlesex and Yorkshire. It is a general sentiment that we have two things to do; first, to put them down by hook or by crook (which is called justice), and then to Christianize them as fast as possible. That the English people will stop until they reassert their supremacy in India, I do not think likely. That they are ever likely to fulfil the apostolical part of their "manifest destiny," I regard as extremely improbable. That the English Government of India has been so beneficent for the nation as that of the Great Mogul Emperor, Akbar Shah Jehan, or Aurungzebe, is at least questionable—but even if actually better, in some respects, it is certain that the very best intentions conscientiously fulfilled towards a distant nation, "alien in race, alien in language, and alien in religion," will never be able to reconcile a country, almost as large and quite as populous as Europe, to the hated sway of the stranger. Probably for every Englishman, woman and child massacred in India, at least one hundred Hindoos will have to bite the dust before English "justice" is satiated—and who believes that after such a baptism of blood, the natives of Hindostan will be readily indoctrinated by their masters into those precepts of the Sermon on the Mount which no Christian sect whatever really regards as entitled to more than a formal assent? Here is a sum in the Rule of Three for you. If it has taken England 700 years to conquer Ireland, and if the number of people in Ireland who hate and abhor English rule is greater now than it was in the year 1600, how soon is it probable that the Hindoos will be reconciled and Christianized? Almost every Englishman you meet will admit that the means by which English ascendancy was obtained were utterly indefensible, but he is equally persuaded that all this iniquity will be the means, under God, of procuring countless blessings for the benighted heathen. This is of a piece with the pleas for the slave trade so unctuously put forward by pro-slavery divines as God's chosen plan for dispensing the Gospel to Africa. On the whole, I am disposed to think that there is a large number of great scoundrels in the greatest, freest, most enlightened, most religious, and most refined nations. From our birth a process begins with most of us which ends in persuading us that we are wisest, greatest, best, and that our national crimes are more venial, more gentlemanly and more respectable than the virtues of other people.

I have often mentioned the *Saturday Review* to you. It is the ablest of all the English weeklies, and its increasing size and circulation are some proof that the public are of my opinion. It attacks *The Times*, Mr. Dickens, the Financial Reformers; it is a sort of conservative, but don't spare the "upper crust" when *it* comes in its way. It is bitter against shams and all kinds of mere seeming. In its own view, the *Saturday Review* is always right, and everybody else is probably a good deal hollow, ignorant and hypocritical. Well, now, I would like your opinion as to whether Pecksniff himself ever, in his sublimest effusions of mingled humility and self-complacency, equalled the richness of the following outbreak of self-abasement, which I take from an article called "Christmas Day" (written for the season), in the last number of that journal:

"The nation too is engaged in what must be regarded as a strange and alien work for a Christian people. It is struggling to maintain its dominion, as a conquering power, over another nation. We believe and trust that the empire for the maintenance of which we are contending is a beneficent one, such as it is our duty to maintain, and that Providence has given it for high purposes into our hands. But to escape the spirit of heathen self-aggrandizement and heathen pride, we have need of the best resolutions that man can form or reason inspire to make our dominion when reëstablished one not of selfish tyranny and rapacity, but of Christian charity and love. We are engaged as a Christian nation in the alien work of conquest and we are engaged in the still more alien work of retribution. That retribution is, indeed, righteous, it is our duty to inflict it, for we are to these criminals in the place of a magistrate and bear not the sword in vain. * * Punishment is necessary to prevent renewed horrors, and to stamp, if possible, forever on the Eastern mind the wrath of Heaven against demoniac crime. It is necessary for the guilty men themselves, for whom, since they have put themselves out of the pale of humanity, it is better, in the eye of mercy itself, to die than to live. But far be it from us to wield even the righteous sword in a spirit of mere vindictiveness. Still farther be it from us to involve the innocent in the same storm of blind vengeance with the guilty. We must stifle with indignant horror cries for wholesale butchery—else it was not for us that Christ was born into the world."

This is surely a recommendation of what *The Tribune*, speaking of Caleb Cushing, calls "Christian stealing, evangelical burglary, religious invasion, virtuous tyranny and humane subjugation." If you should feel inclined to think me deficient in patriotism, I beg you to remember I am "only an Irishman." And yet a friend of mine in this city, a long-headed, prudent, cool, *rich* man [there, now, you will mind what he says], declares roundly that no race on earth equals the Anglo-Irish [of whom your correspondent is one]; that race to which Wellington belonged, whom the English papers described in their obituary notices as having been "born in Ireland of an English family," though they forgot to say that the family had flourished here for four or five hundred years. But it will not do to take nations in the lump—least of all the Irish. I know of no civilized country in which the population born on the land and racy of the soil are so various in their habits, ideas and prejudices. Your G. W. Curtis wrote an essay lately on Thackeray, in which I learn, for the first time, that Ireland cannot endure him for his book upon Ireland. That depends on the Irishman who is the critic. The larger proportion of Irish will tolerate no Protestantism; a considerable section are as blindly hostile to all Popery. I have known a lecturer—one of the meekest of men—obliged to make the humblest apologies for having, inadvertently, used the words "dark ages," as they were regarded as an imputation on Mother Church, who had it all her own way in those days. I was present when another lecturer, who is not a bit like Moses in the matter of meekness, called forth a storm of indignation by using the word "Jesuitical" in its ordinary English sense as meaning something slippery. Slaveholders are not more touchy when their darling institution is reflected on than are most of my countrymen whenever any reflection is cast upon anything in the remotest way connected with the Catechism of the Council of Trent.

I wish you would get *The Times* and publish in "the proper quarter" the article I speak of.* And on the subject of the fitness of white men for labour in warm countries, I know no one who speaks more to the point than Mr. Weston, in his "Progress of Slavery in the United States," which I commend to your friendly notice.

Yours ever truly, RICHARD D. WEBB.

* The article was in type for the Pro-Slavery Department before our correspondent's letter came to hand. See first page.—*Eds.*

A MANLY AND CHRISTIAN LETTER.

THE Rev. Dr. CHEEVER, having been invited to attend a social gathering of the New York Young Men's Christian Association, one evening last week, sent the following truly noble letter.

Finding that I cannot be present at the social gathering of this evening, I inclose the sentiment which was put into my hands in regard to the standard-bearers of the Gospel. The great obstacle against the triumphant progress of the Gospel in this country is the system of slavery, and the habits of subserviency and a selfish expediency with which the support of such a system necessarily fetters the ministry and the Church. Hence the necessity of your "diligent support and hearty coöperation" in the effort to let loose the thunders of the Word of God against that iniquity. One of the most direct and constant aims of a Young Men's Association should be to concentrate, and sustain an intense, universal, unmodified and always aggressive energy against that sin; for it is the sin by which our country is to perish, if it be not resisted by the Church and the ministry with the Word of God. Young men are needed, with their youthful energy *englobed* and preserved, as John Foster said, to be exploded everywhere in an uncompromising hostility, for the rebuke of such wickedness. But alas for the spirit of concealment and expediency in the Church in regard to it! "The young adventurer advances through an avenue formed by a long line of tempters and demons on each side, all prompt to touch him with their conductors, and draw the divine electric element, with which he is charged away." Let us beware of such conductors, whether in the Church or out of it.

It is one of Burke's remarks that "good works are commonly left in a rude, unfinished state, through the tame circumspection with which a timid prudence so frequently enervates beneficence. In doing good, we are generally cold, languid and sluggish, and, of all things, afraid of being too much in the right. But the works of malice and injustice are quite in another style. They are finished with a bold, masterly hand, touched as they are with the spirit of those vehement passions that call forth all our energies whenever we oppress and persecute." The work of young men is to concentrate and direct those energies in behalf of the oppressed and against the oppressor. They, therefore, must associate, not to create among themselves beforehand the caution and timidity of old men, but to preserve unimpaired and augmented those qualities that in young men are so precious—that impulsive fervour which, in the path of duty, does not stop to calculate the consequences; that enthusiastic love of truth and freedom which cannot endure falsehood and slavery; that open and straightforward directness and decision in speaking and acting; that regard to righteous principle; that contempt of concealment, trickiness and compromise; that unwavering determination for justice and liberty, and that measurement of all things by the Word of God, always necessary for great usefulness, but especially at such a time as this, in our own country.

We do not want a Young Men's Christian Association to take the form of an Eclectic Circumlocution Office, where the great question is, *How not to do it*, or in regard to unpalatable truth, *How not to speak it!* but how most freely, fully, swiftly, and effectively to speak it forth, and to do it. We want a Young Men's Christian Association on the "eclectic" principle that both reduced and consolidated Gideon's army. "Whosoever is fearful and afraid, let him return and depart early." We want young men who, if appointed to go to Ninevah, will not, by way of compromise and expediency, take a voyage to Tarshish. We want an Association for our own times and our own country, ready to confront those very sins by which our own country is ripe for destruction; an Association with the utmost freedom of discussion; an Association whose ruling principle shall not be, how not to to give offense, but how to do most positive execution in behalf of righteousness and liberty.

As the defenders of Slavery are centralizing themselves and our Government upon that iniquity, we must centralize upon the Word of God. One of the greatest benefits of a Christian Association in this city is to prevent the principles of young men from being perverted, and their habits warped, by the prevalent spirit of expediency in the suppression of the truth. A man's principles and conscience are easily quieted, if you clothe them in purple and fine linen, and feed them sumptuously every day. The Church itself, and the ministry, is in danger of becoming nothing but a great barrel-organ, notched to please the congregation and the State, and secured beforehand against any impulsive denunciations of oppression, or untimely effusions in behalf of equity and freedom. That the Word of God may have free course and be glorified, and that we may be faithful in its application to the great reigning iniquity of our land, may the young men of your Association always be found in the front rank of the army, with Him that is faithful and true, who in righteousness doth judge and make war.

Most truly and respectfully yours,
GEORGE B. CHEEVER.

PERSONAL.

Washington Irving, now seventy-five years old, walks to Dr. Creighton's church, in Tarrytown, and back, five miles, nearly every Sunday.

Mr. Thomas Hicks, the artist, is the orator designated by the Century Club of New York, to deliver the eulogy upon the life of Crawford, the sculptor.

Lucretia Mott, of Philadelphia, is expected, we understand, to occupy, by invitation, the pulpit of the Rev. Mr. Longfellow, in the Brooklyn Athenæum, on Sunday evening, the 24th inst. In the forenoon of the same day she is expected to attend one of the meetings of Friends in this city.

The Rev. Wm. H. Furness, Pastor of the Unitarian Society in Philadelphia, celebrated the thirty-third anniversary of his settlement on Sunday last. He delivered a very impressive discourse upon the occasion. A friend who was present writes: "He told them of his mental conflict when his duty to the slave first opened to his conscience; how he shrunk from the cross, and how, when it was fairly taken up, his strength was renewed and his soul enlarged. It was a beautiful and sublime testimony for the truth."

Mrs. Lucy Stone, of Orange, N. J., has refused to pay her taxes, on the ground that, as a woman, she is debarred from all participation in governmental affairs. She takes her stand upon the American doctrine, that taxation without representation is unjust. The collector has laid an attachment upon some articles of household furniture, which will be sold at public auction a few days hence. She intends calling a meeting of the people of Orange in order to expose the injustice of taxing women and yet denying them the right of an equal voice with men in determining the action of the government.

LITTELL'S LIVING AGE, No. 712, opens with a sketch (from the *British Quarterly*) of Andrew Crosse, the Electrician. It also contains Dickens's Christmas story and a variety of short articles. 321 Broadway.

THE NEW JERSEY LEGISLATURE convened on Tuesday. Resolutions were promptly introduced instructing the Congressional delegation of the State to vote against the Lecompton swindle. They were made the order of the day for Thursday.

Summary.

"What are you doing?" queried a gentleman, addressing himself to a dilapidated urchin, who was circulating promiscuously through a crowd of politicians, holding out his hand. "Nothin'," was the reply, "only tryin' to take the cents of the meetin'." Sense in that answer.

HIRING IN ALEXANDRIA.—The *Gazette* says: There has been a reduction in the hire of servants of about 8 per cent. Young men and boys ranged from $70 to $100. Some choice servant men at $125. Women at $40 to $75—good cooks $60 to $75. Girls and boys $25 to $40.—*The South.*

NEGRO HIRING.—The Fredricksburg *Recorder* notes a remarkable falling off in the prices of hire, ranging from fifty to seventy-five per cent. less than those obtained last year. At a public hiring, it says, a few days since, negro men brought only from three to eight dollars a month.—*The South.*

THE NIGGER IN THE FENCE.—The Vicksburg *Southron* says: As some explanation of the unexpected change in the action of Mr. Douglas, we may state that several months since the Illinois Senator disposed of his estate in Mississippi, and, having no longer any tangible interest in the "peculiar institution," we presume he thought the occasion a good one to conciliate the Free Soil fanatics of the North and North-West.

The New York correspondent of the Boston *Transcript* says that Dr. Mackay was lately called upon by an inventor with the model of a life-boat, and offered a hundred dollars if he would write a song about it. The Doctor acknowledging the liberal tender, declining the job, the applicant added fifty by way of a higher bid, and, finding this did not inspire the muse, asked the poet if he thought Longfellow would undertake the commission at that price?

RATHER!—John Van Buren made a thrilling speech at the great Democratic meeting at Tammany Hall on the 22d ult., in support of the President's position on the Kansas question. He was severe in his censure of the disorganizing course of Senator Douglas. It sounds strange to hear John Van Buren rebuking Stephen A. Douglas for faithlessness to the Democratic platform, and defending the rights of the South against him.—*Mobile Register.*

RUNAWAY NEGROES KILLING TWO MEN.—A letter from Platin Rock, Mo., says: "Three tall, likely young negroes, supposed to be runaways, in company with an Irishman, crossed the river one mile below Selma; all had good horses and new saddle-bags. They landed on Amos Ruble's farm upon the opposite side of the river, and several men started in pursuit—among them Amos Ruble and J. H. Lilly. Mr. R. was shot through the side, and it is thought he cannot recover. They also killed a looker-on by the name of William Taylor. They shot at Mr. Lilly, but did not hit him. He had a double-barrelled shot-gun that he borrowed from a man by the name of Kubiz, who was supposed to be implicated, as the gun had no shot in it."

COLOURED PERSONS IN THE CARS.—John W. Hunter, coloured, residing at No. 52 Wall street, while on his way home from Seventeenth street, with his wife and a friend, on Sunday evening last, hailed a Sixth avenue car passing down at the corner of Sixteenth street. The car stopped, his wife and friend entered. The conductor, having first assaulted his friend, turned to Hunter and ordered him off the car; and while Hunter remonstrated, the conductor suddenly pushed him with great force, so that he nearly fell off. In self-defence against this unexpected assault, he struck the conductor, for which he was arrested and held to bail by Justice Kelly at Jefferson Market Police Court. The Justice refused to entertain a complaint from Hunter for the assault by the conductor. —*Tribune*, 9th.

We publish on another page a letter from Gen. Wm. Walker to Mr. Buchanan, calling on that functionary to repair the wrong done by Commodore Paulding in forcing Walker and his fellows "to become exiles from Nicaragua." This letter is a high-flown document, which, considering the antecedents of its author, must be regarded as comical rather than otherwise. Very modestly, the President of Nicaragua does not indicate to the President of the United States how Paulding should be punished and Walker indemnified; but he gives notice that, whatever may be done to prevent them, the fillibusters will continue to "fight for the rights of our race, which have been denied to us by an ungrateful and degraded aristocracy." What that means is not clear.—*Tribune.*

BRIGHTER PROSPECTS.—Horace Greeley, who is on a lecturing tour at the West, writes thus to *The Tribune:*

"The Times are clearly improving. There has been a change for the better even since I came West, some ten or twelve days ago. Rates of exchange are falling. Banks that were in difficulties are resuming. Shinplaster and Wild-cat currency is very generally scouted and is returning "to plague the inventors." Produce is coming forward more freely, and is growing firmer in price. There is very much wheat still unthreshed and corn unhusked, awaiting better prices. I believe more beef will be fattened in the West this winter than ever before. On the whole, it seems clear that the worst is over, and that better days are at hand."

SALE OF NEGROES.—A sale of free negroes took place lately in front of the Court House in Charlestown. One woman, very old, sold for $3; another old woman sold for $50; another woman, aged 33 years, sold for $536; another woman, 40 or 50 years of age, sold for $231. These negroes were sold by order of the Court for remaining in the State contrary to law. On Monday last, negroes belonging to the estate of John W. Moore, were sold at prices ranging from $300 to upwards of $700, according to age and sex. Also, a lot belonging to the estate of John M. McFarland sold at good prices considering the money pressure. One man sold for $1,050.—*The South, Jan. 5.*

"There, now!" cried a little niece of ours, while rummaging a drawyer in a bureau, "there now! Gran'pa has gone to heaven without his spectacles. What *will* he do?" And, shortly afterward, when another aged relative was supposed to be sick unto death, in the house, she came running to his bedside, with the glasses in her hand, and an errand on her lips:

"You goin' to dis?"
"They tell me so."
"Goin' to heaven?"
"I hope so."
"Well, here are Gran'pa's spectacles. Won't you take them to him?"—*Boston Congregationalist.*

DANCING.—The Alabama Methodist Protestant Annual Conference has adopted the following resolution:

"That any parents or guardians belonging to our church, who shall patronize that school of sin, the dancing school, by sending their children or wards, shall be subject to trial and reproof, suspension or expulsion, as the case may demand."

If this Conference should resolve to suspend or expel all members of their church who dishonour the cause of Christ by refusing to obey his command, "whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them," it might be considered an *incendiary* doctrine. Persons unacquainted with the circumstances might suppose that dancing is a more heinous offence than slaveholding.

RENEWING THE SLAVE TRADE.—By a private letter received in this city from Loango Coast of Africa, dated September 23, 1857, we are advised that the French have practically engaged in the slave trade, under the name of apprentices, and that a ship, the Clara, of Bordeaux, was at Loango at the date mentioned above, loading with negroes for Martinique. A French war steamer lay alongside to protect her from the English cruisers, who would have seized her but that she had a French naval officer on board with orders to the French Commodore to protect her. The English are also using negroes as slaves at Sierra Leone. The French and English governments are participating in the trade which they affect to deem so hideous. A barracoon has been built by the French at Loango to be used for the safe-keeping of the slaves until they are ready for shipment. There is no secret in this business, and no disguise is attempted.—*Wash Union, Jan. 6.*

REFORMS AMONG THE JEWS OF NEW YORK.—A correspondent of the Boston *Journal* mentions the following recent modifications in the religious observances of our New York City Jews, who number we believe, not far from 30,000.

"The old style of singing in one or more of the up-town synagogues has given place to a modern choir, with organ and all the accompaniments. This has been done in the face of the most virulent opposition from the staid old Jews, and to the infinite disgust of all who ask for the old paths. But the innovation does not end with the organ and the choir. The question of the day of worship has on many occasions agitated the Hebrews. Some are uncharitable enough to say that the Jews cannot afford to lose two days in the week; and as Saturday, their Sabbath, is one of the best days of the week for trade, and Sunday, our Sabbath, is one of the worst, it is proposed to adopt the Sunday of Christians. And this latter plan has already been put into practical use by the Rev. Dr.

Miscellaneous Department.

THE FRENCHMAN IN ENGLAND.

It is a pleasant novelty to meet with a book of travels, written by a Frenchman, in which the Lord and Lady Allcash of Fra Diavolo are not assumed to be veritable types of Britannic high society. It is almost a startling discovery to read at the very outset, as here we read, the candid confession that "England, across which I have made several excursions, is often badly appreciated and, it must be allowed, little known amongst us. At the actual moment, the truth is that international prejudices are much stronger on our side than they are to the north of the Channel. The French rarely quit their country, and, when they do venture out of it, they travel too quickly. Our retired and domestic habits leave an empty gap in our education. Hence arise prejudices, difficulties in our relations with other nations, our maladroitness in colonizing, the limited extent of our commerce, the narrow bounds of our historical erudition, and the greater part of the misapprehensions which hamper our foreign politics. The statesmen of England are acquainted with the habitable globe, much as our police-agents are acquainted with the quarters of Paris. If there is an example calculated to inspire us with more adventurous tastes, it is that of a people who, although endowed with a national sentiment amounting to superstition, have nevertheless chosen the whole world for their country." From such a prelude, we may hope to receive a little fair dealing. The English, although somewhat tender and even self-laudatory in respect to insularities of which they have no reason to be proud, are neither greedy of flattery from foreign visitors, nor over-sensitive to a little sharp criticism from the same; still, they may reasonably wish to find their faults to be considered faults, and their merits, merits, instead of vice versâ; nor can they highly respect the acumen of those who attribute to them faults and merits, both purely imaginary.

There is a little defect, pervading this book of travels, which, although it belongs rather to the French literature of the day than to this individual author, is not the less open to remark. He is fond of chopping up his composition into short sentences, after the manner of that worthy Eugène Jacquot, commonly called De Mirecourt; each sentence being intended to be as epigram, but mostly proving a platitude or a common-place, and also, what is worse, a would-be hard-saying, which is simply stupid. To give a single instance, we are told that Richard the Third, Henry the Eighth, and Charles the First, are the princes best known to the cockneys of London. It (England) is a country where blood refreshes the memory.

But, is there a country, including France, where blood does not refresh the memory? Are the deaths of Louis the Sixteenth, or of Marie Antoinette, forgotten? Or the Terror? Or St. Bartholomew? Are the martyrs of our common Christianity forgotten? Will not the memory of Cawnpore remain fresh for centuries, in consequence of the innocent blood shed at that far-distant butchery? Scores of similar schoolboy-sayings might be quoted from the English at Home. With increased experience, M. Wey will prefer writing like a historian to pointing (query, blunting?) periods like a feuilletonist.

Like every other newly-arrived stranger, M. Wey is struck with astonishment by the Thames, which is an arm of the sea as far as Gravesend; which from Gravesend to London is a port wherein the ships of all nations are ranged by hundreds; which from London to its source is an Arcadian river that gambols amidst meadows, distributing grace and freshness to the shady parks that slope to its margin. He sees that it is impossible for London to have the calm beauty and the imposing regularity of the quays of Paris; because, with such a vast amount of commerce the river itself is obliged to serve both as a quay and magazine; the vessels unlade at the very warehouse door, as if they were perfectly at home; while the jetties and landing-places are necessary for the use of innumerable water-omnibuses, the steamboats which run up and down that vast noiseless street, the Thames. For, life on the Thames is a pantomime. No countenance laughs; the lips are mute; not a cry, not a voice; everyone remains isolated in the crowd. The artisan does not sing. The passengers who pass and repass regard each other without curiosity, and scarcely articulate a word.

M. Wey acquired a more accurate acquaintance with English social etiquette than is ever attained by ninety-nine out of a hundred even of his travelled countrymen; while our language so nearly approaches an unknown tongue, that there is hardly a newspaper or a novel that can cite three words of English, or mention an English surname, without the most absurd mistakes. There is no occasion to search for examples; the first that come to hand will do. A romance, open on my table, makes a charming young lady, one Miss Lucy, say, "John! bring me my album, if yeou pleasse"; and to-day's Courrier is very learned about the Dig Diggings, meaning the Dry Diggings, in California. Nor is our author faultless in this respect. Not is good, is not good English; neither are boarding-scool, or scool-room. It might be difficult to find the town of Hereby at the mouth of the Thames. A waterman is not the name of a steamboat in general, though there be steamboats with Waterman inscribed on the paddlebox. But those are trifles.

One of M. Wey's friends had given him a letter of introduction to an English merchant, William P., esquire, for whom he left it with his visiting card at the bureau of the Reform Club, in Pall Mall. Two hours afterwards, Mr. P. called at the stranger's lodging, to find him absent. He returned the same evening, and as no one was at home, he wrote a note, in the superscription of which M. Wey found himself dubbed Esquire. All the letters which he afterwards received bore the same title, with which it is the courtesy to gratify every bourgeois who is placed above the conditions of trade, that is of little commerce. The shopkeepers are not esquires; but the merchants who operate in their cabinets, the speculators, the bankers, in one word every one comprised in the world of affairs, in business, is received esquire by condescension and by civility,

England is the country of legal equality; but that kind of equilibrium has no effect upon the national manners; and although our (French) fondness for distinctions appears puerile to the English, it is easy to demonstrate that they are not exempt from the same weakness. They have not, like Frenchmen, a passion for uniforms, epaulettes, embroidered coats, or decorations; their button-holes, often adorned with a flower, are never, either in the streets or the drawing-room, dressed up with rosettes or knots of ribbons; but the rules of etiquette, in respect to the titles which mark the hierarchic degrees established between the different classes, are inconveniently strict and intolerant.

Custom, in this matter, carries with it so many minute observances that they always escape the notice of strangers. Amongst the English themselves, the commission of certain mistakes constitutes a marked boundary line between vulgarity and high fashion. No branch of knowledge is less cultivated in France than the precepts of the puerile courtesy of the other side of the Channel. French romancers, comic writers, and editors of journals, commit, on this subject, mistakes which greatly injure them in the eyes of the English. One of the most common of these consists in investing with the title "Sir" (excusively attributed to knights and baronets) the members of the House of Commons, in virtue of their temporary mandate. In the melodrama of Richard d'Arlington, they are liberally bespattered with this dab of soft-soap. But the heaviest of these offences is to place before a family name the title of "Sir," which ought never to be immediately followed by the surname. "Sir Paxton," "Sir Reynolds," are hideous gallicisms. Do not suppose that this is nothing but the caprice of custom. Let us go on, and we shall have to signalize a series of shades more delicate, more unknown, and very variously significative in respect to the distinctions of caste.

Formerly, whoever was above the servile condition, without being provided with a title, was confounded under the designation of "Master," which now is applied to none but children: Master Lambton is the young son of Lambton. Since the time of the Stuarts, when one has to write to great people, the expression "master" ought to be abbreviated thus, "Mr." To write it at full length, in so many letters, would be uncivil. In speaking, you still pronounce "master" for children; but, under pain of incongruity, it is essential, when a man is in the case, to say "Mister." "Mistress" is never written in all its letters; they put "Mrs.," and pronounce "Missis." The title of "Miss" has still more characteristic anomalies to show us. In general, they say "Miss Sarah," "Miss Mary," &c. But it must be observed: first, that the eldest daughter of a family cannot, without impropriety, be designated by her baptismal name. Even a betrothed lover, on the point of marrying Jane, eldest daughter of Mr. Siddons, would call her Miss Siddons, and not Miss Jane. Secondly, the eldest daughter of a family of "gentry" never bears her baptismal name. Before she is weaned, she is already "Miss Crawford" or "Miss Burdett." Thirdly, the eldest daughter of a younger branch loses the prerogative of being designated by her surname whenever she is in the presence of her eldest female cousin of the elder branch. She suffers a sudden transformation, and everybody considers her as simply "Miss Julia," or "Miss Isabella." When her cousin retires, she is Crawford again. The younger sons of titled families receive (and it would be a great fault to omit to give them) the qualification of Hon. (honourable) Mr., Mrs., or Miss ——. In good houses, no sort of title whatever is given to domestics of either sex. Valets are called by their Christian names; chamber-women and female attendants by their family name, short and plain. Thus, to address a female servant, you say, Weber, Smith, Wilcox. Such is the usage. [How would they manage with a maid from Jutland, where the peasantry are not allowed the luxury of surnames, and a girl is simply known as Gertrude, the daughter of John?]

The wife of a knight or baronet joins the title of "Lady" to her family name, and never to her baptismal name, under pain of incurring the censure due to the most shocking usurpation. To the daughters of lords, counts, viscounts and dukes appertains the privilege of being Lady Louisa, Lady Lucy, &c. They take the title of lady from their cradle. The daughters of lords are only qualified as "Miss" at the Théâtre-Français. This privilege of birth is indelible; a young "lady" does not lose it even by marrying a commoner. Nevertheless, the tendency of manners towards equality struggles against the vanity of custom.

For the last five-and-twenty or thirty years, well-mannered people abstain, in conversation, from mentioning almost at every sentence, as is the practice in France, the titles of the persons whom they are addressing. In reply to the questions of a lady, a lord, of a minister, or even of the queen, people limit themselves to saying "Yes," "No," without adding anything further. The grace of the intonation takes the place of the titular vocative, which is understood. It is this laconism of speech which causes the French to regard the English as haughty and disdainful. French politeness would be considered in England as ignorance of fashionable usage. In writing to a great personage, it would be equally vulgar to repeat more than once or twice the titles of "my lord," or "your lordship." The quality once mentioned, the writer resumes the "you" which is common to every one. Let us pursue a little further this chapter, which is curious, perhaps, but certainly useful, and which we are far from being in a condition to exhaust.

The English language furnishes us with a singular mark of the decided line of separation between the two castes of the country. Flat, nasal, and unrhythmical in the mouths of the populace, the language takes, with people of quality, a delicate and expressive accent, a measured lightness, and an elegant firmness. Now, it is impossible for an Englishman of low birth, were he even a professor of oratorieal style, to attain the accent of well-bred persons. The most careful education cannot reach that point without the frequentation of the grand monde, which alone conserves and perpetuates purity of pronunciation together with elegance of language. Thus, on the neutral ground of equality, where there is an entire abstinence from outward distinctions, where everyone is dressed alike, it suffices for you to utter three words, to be classed instantly. One of the most notorious of these differences, as delicate as ineffaceable, consists in the manner in which the nice aspiration of the letter *h* is given. The common people either suppress it or displace it. Its omission is nothing less than intolerable; its displacement is monstrous. Consequently, scarcely more than three-fifths of the population are thus distinguished.

In what regards the habits of social life, everything is regulated according to rank, even in the intimacy of families, with the most rigid etiquette. The precedence of rank does not yield even before a foreigner. If you dine out, await a signal which shall set you in motion in the direction of the dining-room; then do not hesitate, and eschew those ridiculous ceremonies to which French provincial gentlemen abandon themselves in the vicinity of doors, especially when ecclesiastics or gentlemen of the long robe are present. In England, all is ordained, all foreseen, all regulated, all limited; which is the reason why nothing is starched and stiff, and things seem to follow their natural course. It is uncertainty which is the cause of confusion; it is hesitation which chills a friendly meeting. An idea is scarcely entertained of the minutiæ to which usage descends. Thus, the number of taps which it is proper to give with the street-door knocker, when you pay a visit, is, as near as may be, determinate. Nothing appertaining to trade or domestic service will presume to knock at the principal door. The postman is the object of a solitary exception; and everybody knows that, under pain of reprimand, he ought only to give a couple of knocks. A man comme-il-faut, if he respects himself and does not wish to pass for a careless fellow, will strike five, solidly planted. Ladies are announced by seven little raps following each other rapidly. The subject might be continued without ever coming to an end. Moreover a meritorious Frenchman is permitted to be ignorant of some of these despotic laws on his entrance into the English world. He will meet with pardon through his quality of foreigner; but, if he were ignorant of all, and had not the talent to guess them, he would run great risk of passing for a clown.

The invariable foundation of an English dinner consists of a fish and a roast; the surplus is accessory. A character is given to the ceremony much more by the dimensions of these two joints than by the multiplicity of other dishes. To a guest of note, there would be served a salmon or a sturgeon a yard in length—for the fish is always presented first—with divers sauces and spicy seasonings, whose flavour is highly relished by the English. To the French, they have the taste of a display of fireworks that you had taken care to set light to before attempting to swallow them. Even the gingerbeer made Monsieur Wey fancy he was drinking lemonade seasoned with pepper and allspice instead of lemon. This fashionable beverage is a combination of sugar, seltzer-water, and ginger—amongst the most combustible of spices. The refreshment sets your palate in a blaze. After the fish succeed entrées à la Française, consisting of game too much roasted, poultry too much done, or pastry too heavy. The roast, proportioned to the quality of the guests and their number, is worthy of the Homeric epochs. The acme of luxury consists in serving several different fish at the same time, and several roasts. The hors-d'œuvre (supplementary dishes, such as cold ham, tongue, &c.) are numerous, and the entremets (kickshaws which serve as interludes to the solid dishes) are singular. One of the most common is a cake illustrated with sourish herbs, which are the stalks of rhubarb, or perhaps mackerel-gooseberries, gathered green, which are the object of a considerable sale. Frequently salad is offered on a dish, in the shape of a lettuce-heart cut in two. Some people eat it in this way with their fingers, simply dipping the extremity of the leaves in salt. The vegetables are generally boiled and offered without any seasoning; they are delivered over to the circulation about the table, at the same time with the roast meat. At desert, enormous Chester and Stilton cheeses make their appearance, and boats'-load of fresh butter; fruit and melon succeed to them; after which, everything is cleared away, to the very cloth; and glasses and wine are brought.

Wine alone enjoys the privilege of being placed upon the table. For beer and Scotch ale, family drinks, there is a special ceremonial. One of the domestics who wait at table comes and presents to you an empty tray, and if you are not warned beforehand, you will not fail to be a little surprised. [In the beer and cider-drinking departments of France, these liquids are placed on the table in carafes—large glass decanters without stoppers—and everyone helps his neighbours and himself. It is polite to fill your neighbour's glass. In the south, where beer, bitter ale and porter are much dearer than ordinary wine, they are placed on the table respectfully, and with a certain degree of state, in the black bottle.] If such a thing should happen, reader, to yourself, and you bear no animosity to hops, take your glass, place it upon the tray, and the servant, after having filled it at the sideboard, will offer it to you. Without this ingenious combination, your tumbler, O, reader! would suffer the contact of a valet's fingers, which would shock both modesty and strict propriety.

A dinner at the Trafalgar Hotel, Greenwich, to which Monsieur Wey and several of his compatriots were invited, greatly astonished them by its thirty entrées of fish. This culinary Odyssey interested them from being such an exhibition of new, unknown, or unrecognisable dishes, that it possessed all the charm of a museum. Like the tongues in Æsop's dinner, the fish under went innumerable disguises; every species appeared in several costumes; tur ot salmon, sole and sturgeon were bedecked with the most splendid sauces; pepper, phosphorescent gravies [curry, possibly], and incendiary piments, excited wonderment and thirst. But these dishes of energetic condiments, paled before a certain friture or fry, composed of little fishlings which, in point of volume, bear the same proportion to the bleak that the pike does to the whale. The whitebait are caught only in the Thames before Greenwich (?). While analysing these various dishes, certain conscientious tourists took notes, unwilling to neglect any subject of study; and, with the fork in one hand and the pencil in the other, they stuffed themselves with documents which, at the same time, were gravely annotated.

England produces three objects which are met with everywhere; but, which, in this island, are remarkable for their marvellous beauty; the women, the trees, and the horses. Moreover, every place which raises a race of horses worthy of admiration is also peopled by pretty women. What is the cause of the coincidence, it is not easy to say; but this strange correlation is not the less real. Georgia rears the best horses of the East. The plains of La Camargue, in the neighbourhood of Arles, famous for its lovely girls, preserve the blood of the Moorish coursers in a state of nature; the Andalusian maid attains her perfection of form by the side of the most symmetrical steeds of the Peninsula; at Mecklenburg you behold the purest blood of Germany; and, when a phalanx of amazons gallop along the avenues of the London parks, the dazzled eye cannot fix itself with indifference either on the ecuyère or the animal on which she is mounted. Let a young girl draw up her horse beneath a lofty tree, and you will contemplate, grouped into a single picture, the three marvels of Angleterre. [Please observe that young girl is not tautology, in French. French females are filles till they get married, no matter what their age; the same of garçon, and even of jeune homme. The funeral of a jeune homme, turned of seventy-two, has just passed in the direction of the cemetery. An old maid in England becomes an old girl in France.]

Beauty under a different aspect was to be gazed at, at the late Covent Garden theatre, which was as gay and pretty as Her Majesty's theatre is cold and sombre. It was the evening after a drawing-room, though the traveller did not seem to know it. Court etiquette, he tells us, requires that the ladies should be coiffed with one or two marabout plumes, mostly placed in a reversed position, and falling back upon the neck, like the ears of a frightened spaniel. Few persons are less interested in the observance of this usage than Queen Victoria, whose visage is round, with the nose to the wind, although aquiline; but the curve finishes too abruptly: the nose, misplacing us le Rosaire, Saint —— le Tombeau: The caprice is not accomplished without raising the upper lip, which ordinarily allows a couple of white teeth to be seen.

The queen, whom every one saw at Paris, has a lively eye, a bright complexion, and prompt gestures; she becomes animated while speaking, and shakes her marabouts, which gives her more of merry gracefulness than of royal dignity, especially as her forms, rounded by a nascent embonpoint, are better suited for tranquillity. The expression of her look is singular, and pre-occupied by a mixture of blunt simplicity and of compressed raillery. Although short, she appears tall when seated. She frequently changes colour: has beautiful hair, long eyelashes, and fine eyebrows, which melt into the satin sleekness of her skin. There is a vague aspect of the plump Parisienne, with an Anglo-Germanic head. Her portraits, clumsy flatterers, in order to endow her with the inert beauty of the vignettes, have robbed her countenance of all its character and vitality.

On each side of her was a lady, chosen with too much discernment; and, at the back, the Prince Albert. His complexion grows lighter and lighter in proportion as embonpoint raises and stretches the tissues of the skin; at the same time, his forehead loses its locks, and the flower of youth is giving place to prosaic maturity. You are less struck with the regularity of his features than with the air of good nature which distinguishes his countenance. The husband of the queen is esteemed; he was altogether sympathetic before the commencement of the Russian war; he interests those who behold him for the first time, as would any man placed in a difficult position in which he acquits himself with honour. He is reported to be affable; and, far from seeking to make himself of importance, he resists every temptation to put his influence in a conspicuous light. Finally, he takes pains to show that his attention is occupied with the progress of the Fine Arts, as well as of every institution that bears on social economy; and to seek nobody's favour on any other grounds than those of his modesty and his personal merits. Such conduct evinces great talent, and something better than talent. In England, the position given to Prince Albert is more gravely appreciated than in France, on Salic ground; and yet, in France, especially, is there a gallant man, if only he be married, who is not more or less the husband of the queen?

Monsieur Wey has doubts whether the English take repose; but London never sleeps—except once a week, as he afterwards observes, on Sundays. At every hour of the day, the workshops are full, and the haunts of idleness are thronged to overflowing. One knows that the town contains three millions of souls; and, nevertheless, one is surprised to see so many people everywhere at the same time. The streets are crowded, whole populations wander backwards and forwards on the Thames, the parks are overscattered with promenaders, the monuments with curious inquirers: the gardens and the great houses of the environs are invaded by nomad visitors, and the movement never stops as long as the week lasts. They eat at all hours, in all places, and without cessation. The iron constitution of these complaisant stomachs permits them to repair their fatigues, by means of an alimentary regime which would satisfy the appetites of wolves and lions. The bill of fare of a fair and pensive young girl would prove the delight of a couple of Parisian porters.

Parisians don't eat, don't they? Nor Parisiennes either? If you entered a restaurant, after a day at the Exposition, did the parties of French ladies and gentlemen, who joined your company there, partake of merely a Barmecide feast?

Those strange places, the London, St. Catherine, and West India Docks, are the theatre of a prodigious movement. It seems as if, to make such enormous piles of all sorts of wares, they must have exhausted the fecundity of the earth. There are spots where you walk on sugar of the isles (contrasted, in the French mind, with beet-root sugar); and the honeyed odour of the saccharine produce, in this degree of concentration, seizes you by the throat. Moreover, there are preserved fruits, spices enough to convert the Lake of Geneva into gravy, and logwood enough to dye it purple; spirituous liquors and cottons; perfumes and evil-smelling drugs. In short, the nose meets with its spectacles and its surprises.

You contemplate this commercial fairy-land, beneath the shade of a forest of masts, wending your way amongst clerks, casks and cables on a path paved with plates of iron, which are polished and sometimes broken by the wheels of drays. It is here, especially, that you form an opinion of the splendour, the preponderance, and the wealth of this nation, a monstrous polypus, whose suckers absorb the substance of every country, and whose body is here. But, almost immediately, you meet with contrasts; a couple of steps from this superabundance of everything, you behold the deprivation of everything. After the prodigies of mercantile luxury, comes the hard and compulsory indolence of want. The quarter Wapping, from the London Docks to the Tunnel, is abandoned to frightful indigence. You catch glimpses, in courts full of filth and fetid sheds, of whole families, haggard, in rags, out of health, and in a state of uncleanliness which turns your stomach. After you have seen the rags of London, Callot's sketches look like plates from the Journal des Modes. A man enters, head-first, by some hole or other, into a net-work of rags; he finds some point of issue for each of his four limbs and he is fitted with a suit of clothes. Of a pair of trowsers, there is sometimes nothing left, except a single button-hole; the garment is philosophically put on; the skin of these miserables is so bronzed, thickened, and tanned, that it serves them as a vestment, as far as the eyes are concerned, and gives the illusion of dress to the passers-by. Providence, who, in this country, has put an ingot of gold into so many breasts, has clad its children with a skin of serge. Every mortal, accoutered in this fashion, and showing his naked flesh, would take it as a derogation to wear a night-cap, or a cap. They are crowned with a little bit of hat; the same of women, even of beggars.

Admire, on the cushions of that carriage-and-four, conducted by a postilion in silk, admire that young duchess, radiant with elegance. Give a rapid glance at her spangled velvet cloak, a master-piece of Parisian art. In a fortnight the cloak will be made over to her children's governess. (Query, whether the lady's maid would allow of such an irregular transfer?) Fourteen months afterwards, the cook will sell it for old clothes; the article gets greasy while becoming more popular. Some stall-keeper will turn it, and display its brilliant wrong side. Then it will become faded, torn, unravelled, with flattering wings, like a wounded bird. In this state, a mendicant will pick it up in the gutter, and, while holding out her hand to the duchess for alms, will show her grace something which she will not recognise. But the poor creature has received three-pence. That will buy bread? No; it will buy gin; and, in the evening, you will see her children naked, and grovelling on a heap of offal, gnawing outcast vegetables, raw carrots, and cabbage-stalks; and then the whole family will go to rest upon a scanty layer of pulverized straw. The national delicacy banishes such scenes of famine to the distant shades of unseen quarters. An insufficient remedy

Before penetrating the Tunnel, the subterranean bridge which passes under the Thames, we entered a tavern to cool our exterior and to warm our interior with a cordial dram. People drank, standing around the counter; and a woman offered in the same basket, by way of refreshments, little Malta oranges, as well as cold sheeps' feet, half-cooked, which she presented on the point of an iron fork, with a little salt in a paper. These light pastimes for the stomach are intended to charm the interval between meals; judge from this of the sufferings which hunger must inflict on such magnanimous appetites as the English possess.

In the Tunnel—to which you descend by a round hole some hundred feet in circumference, decorated with bright coloured paintings, and flanked by a couple of stair-cases—the necessity of carving a livelihood gives rise to painful industries. When you have entered the double gallery, whose vaults describe three quarters of a circle, the air becomes thick and chilly; a cold and humid vapour, laden with sepulchral miasms, shuts in the view at twenty paces' distance, in spite of the light of one hundred and twenty-six gas-burners. It seems as if one would be sure to die, if one spent a couple of hours in these hypogées (that is, under-earths; but what will the Academy say to the word?), which distil water drop by drop, till it collects in black and slippery puddles. Between each pillar, there are shops, kept by quite young girls thus buried alive. Smiling and pale, they offer you glass articles, enchanted lunettes (kaleidoscopes, perhaps), panoramas of London, lots of small tin-ware, and foreign gewgaws. There are puppet-shows and performances by the accordion and the serinette in this subterranean passage; in short, they contrive to live in this dwelling of death. What maladies thikhown to the hand of sunshine must germinate here! What a capital green-house for the production of morbific rarities! But liberty is opposed to the closing of these stalls, a measure in which the solicitude of the government would be doubly justified, in the interest both of the public health and the public morality; for commerce here is only a pretext for something less respectable.

At this humane proposition to close the Tunnel bazaar, we take our leave of Monsieur Wey, with thanks and good wishes.—*Household Words.*

THE WILD DOG.—The wild dog is about eighteen inches high, of a brick-red or bright fox-colour, with a thick bushy tail tipped with black; the ears are also black, pointed and upright. They are the most determined enemies of the tiger, hunting him whenever they meet with him. I have been assured by Bbools that they have sometimes seen a tiger attempt to save himself by climbing trees. On the approach of the men the wild dogs dispersed, when the tiger jumped down and gladly made his escape. This I firmly believe to be a fact; for the story arose out of a casual remark one Bheel made to another in my hearing, as we were passing a certain large tree (with a straight stump, about five yards high before the branches began, up which a tiger had jumped), in another part of the country over which I was hunting. Perhaps these dogs hunt the tiger for pooching on their decoys to any towards the old animal's pet cat and dog on a large scale.—*Tiger-Shooting in India*

THE KING IS COLD.

BY ROBERT BROWNING.

RAKE the embers—blow the coals—
Kindle at once a roaring fire;
Here's some paper—'tis nothing, sire—
Light it (they saved a thousand souls!);
Run for fagots, you scurvy knaves—
There are plenty out in the public square—
You know they fry the heretics there
(But God remembers their nameless graves!).
Fly, fly, or the king may die!
Ugh! his royal feet are like snow,
And the cold is mounting up to his heart
(But that was frozen long ago!);
Rascals, variets, do as you are told—
The king is cold.

His bed of state is a grand affair,
With sheets of satin and pillows of down,
And close beside it stands the crown—
But that won't keep him from dying there!
His hands are wrinkled, his hair is gray,
And his ancient blood is sluggish and thin;
When he was young it was hot with sin,
But that is over this many a day!
Under these sheets of satin and lace
He slept in the arms of his concubine;
Now they 'rouse with prince instead,'
Drinking the maddest, merriest wines;
It's pleasant to hear such catches trolled,
'Now the king is cold!'

What shall I do with his majesty now?
For, thanks to my potion, the man is dead;
Suppose I bolster him up in bed
And fix the crown again on his brow?
That would be merry! but then the prince
Would tumble it down, I know, in a trice;
'Twould puzzle the devil to name a vice
That would make his excellent highness wince!
Hark! he's coming; I know his step;
He's stealing to see if his wishes are true:
Sire, may your father's end be yours!
(With just such a son to murder you!)
Peace to the dead! Let the bells be tolled;
The king is cold!

THE BEAUREPAIRE OAK.

BUT first, ere the sun is set, stay a few minutes and look at the Beaurepaire oak, while I tell you the little men knew about it, not the thousandth part of what it could have told if trees could speak as well as breathe.

The baroness did not exaggerate. The tree was somewhat older than even this ancient family. There was a chain of family documents, several of which related incidents in which this tree played a part.

The oldest of these manuscripts was written by a monk, a younger son of the house, about five hundred years before our story. This would not have helped us much, but luckily the good monk was at the pains to collect all the oral traditions about it that had come down from a far more remote antiquity, and, like a sensible man, arrested and solidified them by the pen. He had a superstitious reverence for the tree; and probably this too came down to him from his ancestors, as it was certainly transmitted by him to the chroniclers that succeeded him.

The sum of all is this.

The first Baron of Beaurepaire had pitched his tent under a fair oak tree that stood *prope rivum*—near a brook. He afterwards built a square tower hard by, and dug a moat that enclosed both tree and tower and received the waters of the brook aforesaid. These particulars corresponded too exactly with the present face of things and the intermediate accounts to leave a doubt that this was the same tree.

In these early days its size seems to have been nothing remarkable, and this proves it was still growing timber. But a century and a half before the monk wrote, it had become famous in all the district for its girth, and in the monk's own day had ceased to grow, but showed no sign of decay. The mutilated arm I have mentioned was once a long sturdy bough worn smooth as velvet in one part from a curious cause: it ran about as high above the ground as a full-sized horse, and the knights and squires used to be forever vaulting upon it, the former in armour; the monk when a boy had seen them do it a thousand times.

The heart of the tree began to go, and then this heavy bough creaked suspiciously. In those days they did not prop a sacred bough with a line of iron posts as now.

They solved the difficulty by cutting this one off within six feet of the trunk; two centuries later, the tree being now nearly hollow, a rude iron bracket was roughly nailed into the stem, and, running out three feet, supported the knight's bough; for so the mutilated limb was still called.

What had not this tree seen since first it came green and tender as a cabbage above the soil, and stood at the mercy of the first hare or rabbit that should choose to cut short forever its frail existence?

Since then eagles had perched on its crown and wild boars fed without fear of man upon its acorns. Troubadours had sung beneath it to lords and ladies seated around or walking on the grass and commenting the minstrels' tales of love by exchange of amorous glances.

It had seen a Norman duke conquer England, and English kings invade France and be crowned at Paris. It had seen a woman put knights to the rout, and seen God insulted and the warrior virgin burned by envious priests, with the consent of the curs she had defended and the curs she had defeated.

Mediæval sculptors had taken its leaves, and, wisely trusting to Nature, had adorned many a church with those leaves cut in stone.

Why, in its old age it had seen the rise of printing, and the first dawn of national civilization in Europe. It flourished and decayed in France: but it grew in Gaul. And more remarkable still, though by all accounts it is like to see the world to an end, it was a tree in ancient history: its old age awaits the millennium: its first youth belonged to that great tract of time which includes the birth of Christ, the building of Rome, and the siege of Troy.

The tree had mingled in the fortunes of the family. It had saved their lives and taken their lives. One Lord of Beaurepaire, hotly pursued by his feudal enemies, made for the tree, and hid himself partly by a great bough, partly by a thick screen of leaves. The foe darted in, made sure he had taken to the house, ransacked it, and got into the cellar where, by good luck, was store of Malvoisie: and so the oak and the vine saved the quaking baron.

Another Lord of Beaurepaire, besieged in his castle, was shot dead on the ramparts by a cross-bowman who had secreted himself unobserved in this tree a little before the dawn.

A young heir of Beaurepaire, climbing for a raven's nest to the top of this tree, whose crown was much loftier than now, lost his footing, and fell, and died at the foot of the tree: and his mother, in her anguish, bade them cut down the tree that had killed her boy. But the baron, her husband, refused, and said, what in the English of the day, would run thus—"Ytte ys enough that I lose mine sonne, I will not alsoe lose mine Tre." In the male the solid sentiment of the proprietor outweighed the temporary irritation of the parent. Then the mother, we are told, bought fifteen ells of black velvet, and stretched a pall from the knight's bough across the west side to another branch, and cursed the hand that should remove it, and she herself "wolde never pass the Tre neither going or coming, but went still about."

And when she died and should have been carried past the tree to the park, her dochter did cry from a window to the bearers, "Goe about! goe about!" and they went about; and all the company. And in time the velvet pall rotted, and was torn and driven away rapidis Indibria ventis: and when the hand of Nature, and no human hand, had thus flouted and dispersed the trappings of the mother's grief, two pieces were picked up and preserved among the family relics: and the black velvet had turned a rusty red. So the baroness did nothing new in this family when she hung her chaplet on the knight's bough; and in fact, on the west side, about eighteen feet from the ground, there still mouldered one corner of an atchievement, an heir of Beaurepaire had nailed there two centuries before, when his predecessor died: "for," said he, "the chateau is of yesterday, but the tree has seen us all come and go."

The inside of the tree was clean gone: it was hollow as a drum—not eight inches thick in any part; and on its east side yawned a fissure, as high as a man and as broad as a street door. Dard used to wheel his wheelbarrow into the tree at a trot, and there leave it. In spite of excavation and mutilation, not life only, but vigour dwelt in this wooden shell: the extreme ends of the longer boughs were firewood, touchwood, and the crown was gone time out of mind: but narrow the circle a very little to where the indomitable trunk could still shoot sap from its cruise deep in earth, in there on every side burst the green leaves in summer, countless as the sand. The leaves carved centuries ago from those very models, though cut in stone, were most of them mouldered, blunted, notched, deformed—but the delicate types came back with every summer, perfect and lovely as when the tree was their elder brother and greener than ever: for, from what cause Nature only knows, the leaves were many shades deeper and richer than any other tree could show for a hundred miles round—a deep green, fiery, yet soft; and then their multitude—the staircases of foliage, as you looked up the tree, and could scarce catch a glimpse of the sky—as inverted abyss of colour, a mound, a dome, of flake emeralds that quivered in the golden air.

And now the sun sets—the green leaves are black—the moon rises—her cold light shoots across one half that giant stem.

How solemn and calm stands the great round tower of living wood; half ebony, half silver, with its mighty cloud above of flake-jet leaves tinged with frosty fire at one edge!

Now is the still hour to repeat in a whisper the words of the dame of Beaurepaire—"You were here before us: you will be here when we are gone."

Let us leave the hoary king of trees standing in the moonlight, calmly defying time, and let us follow the creatures of a day, since what they were we are.—*Reade's "White Lies."*

A WORD TO THE CONSERVATIVES.—O my Conservative friends, who still specially name and struggle to appose yourselves "Conservatives": would to heaven I could persuade you of this world-old fact, than which fate is not surer, that truth and justice alone are *capable* of being "conserved" and preserved! The thing which is unjust, which is *not* according to God's law, will you, in a God's universe, try to conserve that? It is so old, say you? Yes, and the hotter haste ought you of all others to be in to let it grow no older! If but the faintest whisper in your hearts intimate to you that it is not fair, hasten, for the sake of Conservatism itself, to probe it rigorously, to cast it forth at once and forever if guilty. How will or can you preserve *it*, the thing that is not fair? "Impossibility" a thousandfold is marked on that. And ye call yourselves Conservatives, Aristocracies; ought not honour and nobleness of mind, if they had departed from all the earth elsewhere, to find their last refuge with you? Ye unfortunate!—*Carlyle's Past and Present.*

Gleanings from Foreign Publications.

The Chevalier Bunsen has been raised to the rank of a noble by order of the Prince of Prussia.

——Thirteen thousand five hundred copies of the first part of Mr. Thackeray's "Virginians" were sold the first day of publication in England.

——POOR DOG TRAY IN BERLIN.—The police in Berlin lately discovered a slaughter-house in which dogs were killed for the purpose of sale as butchers' meat. Suspicions of the existence of such an establishment had for some time been excited in consequence of the disappearance of great numbers of dogs of large size.

——A LITERARY CLERGYMAN.—The Dundee *Courier* says that a clergyman in a country parish not many miles from Dundee had occasion, the other Sabbath, to illustrate a point in his sermon by an allusion to the poet Cowper, which he did after this fashion: "In illustration of what I have been saying, my brethren, I may mention the amiable and Christian Poet Cowper, with whose beautiful poems of 'Paradise Lost' and 'Paradise Regained' you must all be familiar."

——The edition of Béranger's last songs has just appeared in Paris. The number of them, ninety-four, is small considering that twenty-seven years have been spent in producing them. But Béranger was never a fluent writer. In his best days he said to a young man, who was boasting of his facility in versification, and asserted that he could write a new poem every day: "A poem every day? Truly, I wonder at you. As for me, I must confess that I have never produced more than twelve in a year." It is rumoured in some circles that possibly a number of songs of a political tendency have been kept from publication by government influence.

——A number of literary men of Paris, chiefly contributors to the lighter class of periodicals, have had a strange idea—that of founding a "Society for the Amelioration of French Wit." Wit, they say, has of late years been manifestly on the decline; and if something energetic be not done to save it, it is menaced with complete extinction. Now, as in these days all great enterprises are accomplished by means of Societies, they think a Society the best means possible of resuscitating wit. They have, however, thus far not been able to chalk out any other line of action for their Society than that its members shall dine together in sumptuous style at least once a month, and shall at the dinner be, under pain of censure and even of fine, extremely witty.

——It is gratifying to find that some literary relics of much interest are to be preserved in places where they will be accessible to public inspection. The "Punch Bowl" of Robert Burns, and a book containing a number of manuscript remains of the poet, have been bequeathed by the late Archibald Hastie, Esq., M.P. for Paisley, to the British Museum. The rooms of Dr. Johnson in the Temple, which were threatened with demolition during the alterations going on in that classic locality, are to be reconstructed in one of the courts of the Crystal Palace at Sydenham, all the timbers and movable materials having been purchased and preserved with pious care for this purpose. Imagination will thus be helped to associate the old haunt with the images of Goldsmith, and Burke, and Boswell, and Langton, and the others who surrounded Johnson at that period of his life.—*London Literary Gazette.*

——GOSPEL ACCORDING TO HUC.—The celebrated Abbé Huc has just communicated to the *Univers* the preface of his forthcoming third volume of "Christianity in China." The drift is to denounce the whole system of toleration for Buddhism and Mohammedanism. He is for sweeping away the last vestiges of superstition, and grappling with those enervated Asiatics so as to end the matter in a summary style. Here is a paragraph:

"What is the use of asking who was in the wrong, the Commodore of England or the Chinese Viceroy? Who cares whether the Sepoys had a greasd cartridge grievance or the Company was in fault? A sad muddle all this! The fact is, we are opening the preliminaries of a giant struggle between Europe and Asia—an encounter which Divine Wisdom has long foretold, and now contemplates in stern reality. It was written in Genesis ix. 27, 'That God shall enlarge Japhet, and he shall dwell in the tents of Shem.'"

——THE EDUCATIONAL FRANCHISE.—A memorial has been transmitted to Lord Palmerston, praying him, in his coming Reform bill, to make provision for granting the suffrage to certain classes of the community who may be in a fit state to receive it by virtue of their educational acquirements. The memorial is signed by a very large number of noblemen and gentlemen connected with art, science and literature, among whom we find the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of Oxford, and several other Prelates, combined with Mr. Badeley and Mr. M'Mahon on the Roman Catholic side, with Dr. Cumming and several of his Dissenting brethren. Lords Brougham and Campbell are associated with Chief-Baron Pollock, Sir John Patteson, and Mr. Justice Coleridge. The names of Lord Ebrington, Sir Culling Eardley, Mr. Mellor, and